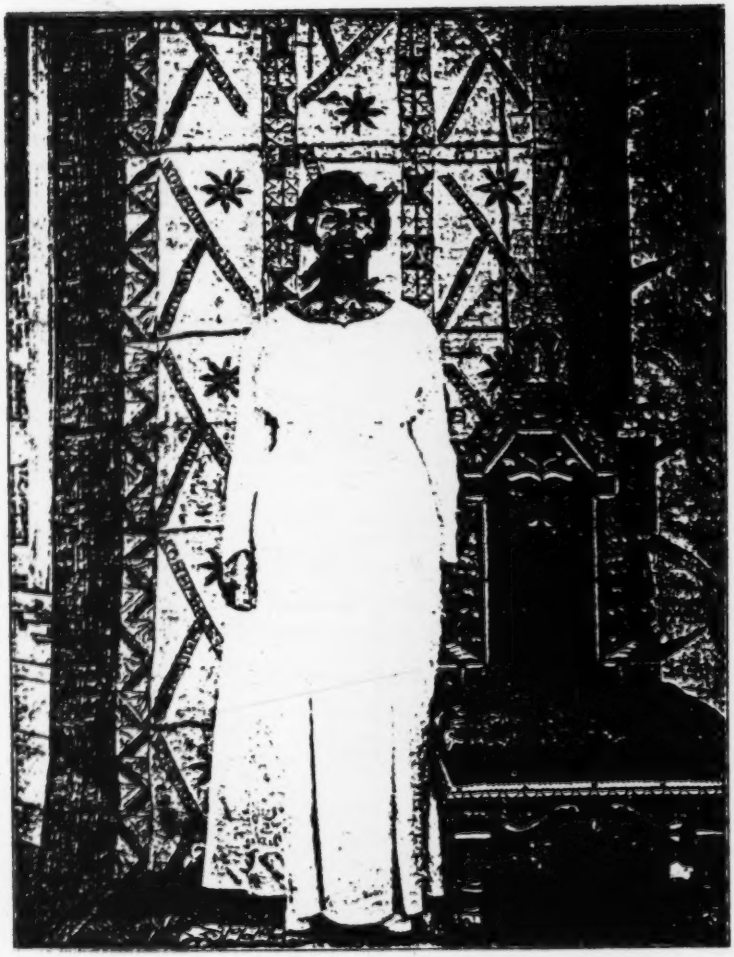
1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9



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142
287
352
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QUEEN CHARLOTTE OF TONGA

[introductory p. i]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

722
669 and clubs; and the women employed themselves in packing up bales of gnatoo* mats, &c.

722
597 One day, whilst these preparations were going forward, the king asked Mr. Mariner whether he had a mother living; upon his replying in the affirmative, he appeared much grieved that he should be separated so far from her. It is a custom in the Tonga islands, for men, (and sometimes women,) to adopt or choose a foster mother, even though they have their own natural mother living, with a view of being better provided with all necessaries and conveniences, as cloth, oil, food, &c. On this occasion the king appointed one of his wives, Mafi Habe, to be Mr. Mariner's adopted mother, telling him, that if there was any thing he wanted to make his situation more comfortable, he need only apply to Mafi Habe, and as she was a woman of consequence, it was in her power to procure him any thing that in reason he might require. This woman had afterwards as much real esteem and parental affection for him as she could possibly have for her own son.

158 At this time there lived in the island of Lefooga a female who for many years had been [782] afflicted with insanity. She had become insane

[281] * Gnatoo, a sort of cloth made of the bark of the Chinese paper mulberry tree.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

the shore in a small canoe which they had in tow, and be led along the shelf by his mata-booles, wading through the water, which was scarcely three feet deep; to this also his friends objected, being apprehensive that, if he left the large canoe in the way he proposed, and approached too near the beach, his temper might be so worked into a rage by the insults of the natives, as to induce him to rush on shore, and run the risk of being killed; but Finow replied, by way of apology for not yielding to their advice, that it was the part of a brave man to keep himself perfectly cool and collected when insulted, and that he was resolved to act up to this character. Matters being thus arranged, he went into the small canoe, and was led along by the matabooles. As they drew near to the shore, many of the natives called out to them, saying a number of things in derision: one threw them a piece of yam, another a piece of pork, telling them it was to be the last they should get from Vavaoo *; then they enquired whether they were not quite tired of living upon the scanty allowance of the Hapai

* Vavaoo is famous for good yams, and great quantities of hogs, as well as for *gnatoo* of a finer quality, and better printed; the tree, from which the printing colour is procured, being very scarce, and very inferior, at the Hapai islands.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

of an hour, the corner posts being taken up, the four pieces which compose the building (a kind of shed in a pyramidal form, the eaves reaching within four feet of the ground) were brought by a sufficient number of men, and put together at the place where it was wanted. This being done, the body was brought on the same hurdle or hand-barrow to the newly erected building, (if it may be so termed) and then being taken off the hurdle it was laid within, on the bale of *gnatoo*, and the house was hung round with black *gnatoo*, reaching from the eaves to the ground *. The women, who were now all assembled and seated round the body, began a most dismal lamentation, similar to that at Neáfoo; in the mean time a number of people, whose business it was to prepare graves, were digging the place of interment within the *fytoca*, under the direction of *Lanagi*, a mataboole whose office was to superintend such affairs. Having dug about ten feet, they came to the large stone vault, such as was described in the note p. 144; a rope being then

* This black *gnatoo*, or rather *gnatoo* of a dark colour, having a deep brown ground with black stripes, is not chosen on account of its colour, but because it is coarse and common (emblematical of poverty and sadness). They have a kind of *gnatoo* of very superior quality, but of the same colour and pattern, and this is used on occasions of rejoicing.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

of which the *fytoca* consists, may be strewed in like manner, it being considered a great embellishment to a grave to have it thus covered, and is thought to appear very well from a distance, where the clean sand may be seen on the outside of the *fytoca;* besides which, it is the custom, and nobody can explain the reason why,—which is the case with several of their customs. This being done, the temporary house is taken to pieces, and thrown behind the *fytoca* in the hole, out of which the earth was originally dug to raise the mount on which the *fytoca* stands *: in this hole also are thrown all the baskets in which the sand was brought, as well as the remaining quantity of earth not used in filling up the grave. The ground within the *fytoca* is now covered with mats, similar to what are commonly used in the houses, and which are made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree. During the whole of this time the company was seated on the green before the *fytoca*, still clothed in mats, and their necks strung with the leaves of the *ifi* tree: after this they arose and went to their respective habitations, where they shaved their heads, and burnt their cheeks with a small lighted roll of

* Or rather the house upon the *fytoca*, for the latter is a term given merely to the mount and the grave within it; they have several *fytocas* which have no houses on them.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

*tápa**, by applying it once upon each cheek bone; after which, the place was rubbed with the astringent berry of the *matchi*, which occasions it to bleed, and with the blood they smeared about the wound, in a circular form, to nearly two inches in diameter, giving themselves a very unseemly appearance†. They repeat this friction with the berry every day, making the wound bleed afresh: and the men, in the mean time, neglect to shave, and to oil themselves during the day; they do, however, at night, for the comfort which this operation affords. After having, in the first place, burnt their cheeks and shaved their heads, they built for themselves small temporary huts, for their own accommodation during the time of mourning, which lasts twenty days. The women, who have become *tabooed* by touching the dead body, remain constantly in the *fytoca*, except when they want food, for which they retire to one or other of these temporary houses, to be fed as mentioned in the note, p. 141, but they sleep in

* *Tápa* differs from *gnatoo* merely by its not being stamped or imprinted with any pattern.

† Those whose love for the deceased is very great, or who wish it to be thought so, instead of burning their cheeks in the way mentioned, rub off the cuticle by beating and rubbing their cheeks with platt wound round their hands, made of the husk of the cocoa-nut; and this is a most painful operation.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

tipped with the bone of the sting ray. (See Vol. I. p. 278.)

CLUBS AND SPEARS. Though the making of these be not a distinct profession, yet they are most commonly manufactured by the *toofoonga fo vaca*, as being expert in the use of the *togi*. Their clubs are of various shapes; but specimens of them, as well as of their spears, may be seen in our museums.

The next arts to be spoken of are those practised by females, not so much as a task or labour, for women of rank often employ themselves this way, but as being their proper occupation. The most important of these is the

FABRICATION OF ONATOO. This substance is somewhat similar to cotton, but not woven, being rather of the texture of paper: it is prepared from the inner bark of the Chinese paper mulberry tree, and is used for dress and other purposes.

A circular incision being made round the tree near the root, with a shell deep enough to penetrate the bark, the tree is broken off at that part, which its slenderness readily admits of: when a number of them are thus laid on the ground, they are left in the sun a couple of days to become partially dry, so that the inner and outer bark may be stripped off together,

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

287 without danger of leaving any of the fibres behind. The bark is then soaked in water for a day and night, and scraped carefully with shells for the purpose of removing the outer bark, or epidermis, which is thrown away. The inner bark is then rolled up lengthwise, and soaked in water for another day; it now swells, becomes tougher, and more capable of being beaten out into a firm texture: being thus far prepared, the operation of *tootoo*, or beating, [412] commences. This part of the work is performed by means of a mallet a foot long, and two inches thick, in the form of a parallelopipedon, two opposite sides being grooved longitudinally to the depth and breadth of about a line, with intervals of a quarter of an inch. The bark, which is from two to five feet long, and one to three inches broad, is then laid upon a beam of wood about six feet long, and nine inches in breadth and thickness, which is supported about an inch from the ground by pieces of wood at each end, so as to allow of a certain degree of vibration. Two or three women generally sit at the same beam; each places her bark transversely upon the beam immediately before her, and while she beats with her right hand, with her left she moves it slowly to and fro, so that every part becomes beaten

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

alike; the grooved side of the mallet is chiefly used first, and the smooth side afterwards. They generally beat alternately: early in the morning, when the air is calm and still, the beating of gnatoo at all the plantations about has a very pleasing effect; some sounds being near at hand, and others almost lost by the distance, some a little more acute, others more grave, and all with remarkable regularity, produce a musical variety that is very agreeable, and not a little heightened by the singing of the birds, and the cheerful influence of the scene. When one hand is fatigued, the mallet is dexterously transferred to the other, without occasioning the smallest sensible delay. In the course of about half an hour it is brought to a sufficient degree of thinness, being so much spread laterally as to be now nearly square when unfolded; for it must be observed, that they double it several times during the process, by which means it spreads more equally, and is prevented from breaking. The bark thus far prepared is called *fetagi*, and is mostly put aside till they have a sufficient quantity to enable them to go on at a future time with the second part of the operation, which is called *cocanga*, or printing with *coca*. When this is to be done, a number employ themselves in gathering the berries of the *toe*, the pulp

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

of which serves for paste; but the mucilaginous substance of the *mahoá* root is sometimes substituted for it: at the same time others are busy scraping off the soft bark of the *coca* tree and the *tooi-tooi* tree, either of which when wrung out, without water, yields a reddish brown juice, to be used as a die. The *cobéchi*, or stamp is formed of the dried leaves of the *páoongo* sewed together so as to be of a sufficient size, and afterwards embroidered, according to various devices, with the wiry fibre of the cocoa-nut husk*; they are generally about two feet long, and a foot and a half broad: they are tied on to the convex side of half cylinders of wood, usually about six or eight feet long, to admit two or three similar operations to go on at the same time. The stamp being thus fixed, with the embroidered side uppermost, a piece of the prepared bark† is laid on it, and smeared over with a folded piece of *gnatoo* dipped in one of the reddish brown liquids before mentioned, so that the whole surface of the prepared bark becomes stained, but particularly those parts raised by the design in the stamp: another piece of

* Making these *cobechis* is another employment of the women, and mostly women of rank.

† The edges of the beaten bark, which is generally hard, knotty, and ragged, are cut off straight.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

gnatoo is now laid on it, but not quite so broad, which adheres by virtue of the mucilaginous quality in the die, and this, in like manner, is smeared over; then a third in the same way; and the substance is now three layers in thickness: others are then added to increase it in length and breadth, by pasting the edges of these over the first, but not so as there shall be in any place more than three folds, which is easily managed, as the margin of one layer falls short of the margin of the one under it. During the whole process each layer is stamped separately, so that the pattern may be said to exist in the very substance of the *gnatoo;* and when one portion is thus printed to the size of the *cobechi*, the material being moved farther on, the next portion, either in length or breadth, becomes stamped, the pattern beginning close to where the other ended. Thus they go on printing and enlarging it to about six feet in breadth, and generally about forty or fifty yards in length. It is then carefully folded up and baked under ground, which causes the die to become somewhat darker, and more firmly fixed in the fibre; besides which, it deprives it of a peculiar smoky smell which belongs to the *coca*. When it has been thus exposed to heat for a few hours, it is spread out on a grass-plat, or on the sand of the sea-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

287 shore, and the finishing operation of *toogi hea*
531 commences, or staining it in certain places with
[386] the juice of the *hea*, which constitutes a brilliant red varnish; this is done in straight lines along those places where the edges of the printed portions join each other, and serves to conceal the little irregularities there; also in sundry other places, in the form of round spots about an inch and a quarter in diameter: after this the *gnatoo* is exposed one night to the dew, and the next day being dried in the sun, it is packed up in bales to be used when required. When *gnatoo* is not printed or stained, it is called *tapa*.

287 They make also an inferior kind of *gnatoo* of
[764] the bark of young bread-fruit trees, which, however, is coarse, and seldom worn, but is chiefly used for various purposes at funerals.

[462] The whole of these operations are performed
565 by women: the embroidering of the *cobechis*,
413 or stamps, is always done by women of rank.
[391] In respect to mat and basket-making, they have mats of various kinds, made of strips of
285 leaves or bark selected, dried, and otherwise
[462] prepared; all of which, except one or two of a coarser kind, are fabricated by women. The following are the names and qualities of them.

[291] *Gnafi gnafi*, mats to wear, of a finer quality, made of the leaves of the *fa* or *pacongo*, that

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

skilled man who is idle and slack ("weak at working" in Tongan idiom). A rather less complimentary shade of meaning may be conveyed by this phrase, namely, it is the way of the unskilled (or foolish, the same word is used in both senses) to go ahead with all their might at a job although they may be all wrong.

125. Veuveuki ke lelei: Upsetting for good.

Veuveuki means to introduce confusion, to wrest things from their right order, to change instructions that have been given about a piece of work. This phrase indicates one who refuses to obey orders, makes a change in the instructions given, or otherwise disarrays a job, but does it in the knowledge that the prescribed method of procedure is not a good one. Such a man introduces confusion into the task, but it is a confusion that turns out well.

MANUFACTURES

CLOTH

[Cloth is made by ingeniously pasting together lengths of the beaten-out bark of the paper mulberry *(hiapo, Broussonetia papyrifera)*, on which a design is stained and picked out with black coloring matter.]

126. Hafuhafu koka: Dripping *koka*.

The *koka (Bischoffia* or *trifoliata javanica)* furnished a red dye for staining the native cloth. This dye is obtained by mixing the grated wood of the tree with water and squeezing through a mat. The imagery of the expression is taken from the drops of liquid falling down from the strainer, though when the mat has just been freshly filled the liquid runs down in a full stream. This expression, however, evidently refers to mere drops, more particularly perhaps the hard won drops when the mixture has been strained almost dry. It is applied to eking out a thing, trying to make it go round.

127. Hange ha fakatau kupeji: Like buying a printing-frame.

The printing-frames for the native cloth are highly valued, and when it comes to buying one there is apt to be a good deal of haggling. So this expression is applied to a transaction marked by confusion and cross purposes.

128. Hange ha fau tau koka: Like a strainer for expressing *koka*.

A coloring matter for staining the native cloth is obtained from the *koka* tree *(Bischoffia javanica)*. To obtain this pigment small pieces of bark are scraped from the tree, mixed with water, and then strained through a mat. This mat, which is long and narrow, is wrapped round the ground bark, and assumes the shape of a huge sausage. The ends are then tied

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 386 over the branch of a tree so that the mat forms a loop hanging down to a convenient height. A pole is put through the loop, and manned (or "womanned") by several people who turn the pole round, thus twisting the strainer up tight and expressing the pigment which runs into a receptacle placed to catch it. This mat in the course of twisting is subjected [461 626] to a great strain but is hard to break. The expression is used of a lazy person who, although he is the subject of many admonitions and rebukes, is yet very hard to shift.

539 287 426 **129. Maamaa a hiki papa:** Shifting the tapa board is light.

The *papa* is the long hollow board, or rather wooden structure, used in printing designs on the native cloth. It is fairly heavy and requires two or three people to lift it about. The idea of this expression is that one who wants to borrow one of these printing boards for cloth making in his own home finds no difficulty about securing the necessary help to lift it, but when it comes to returning it to its owners there are constant difficulties in the way.

539 286 735 **130. Nae li ki fe hoo geeji kahi?** Where did you throw your *kahi* shell?

The *kahi* shell (*Arca scapha*) is used as a scraper in the preparation of the native cloth. This phrase is a reply to one who goes to beg cloth from another. What did you do with the shells for making scrapers that you have not got a stock of cloth for yourself? The expression is not confined to those who beg cloth, but is extended generally to those who find themselves in want of a commodity which they might reasonably be expected to supply for themselves.

539 386 183 571 **131. Tai e oko atu:** The coloring matter will run on, that is, the coloring matter with which one part of the cloth is stained is that with which the adjoining part will also be colored.

This expression is used as a reproof and warning to those who jeer at the misfortunes which have come upon another. Just as the color on one section of the cloth is repeated on the next and each part in turn comes to be stained, so will he who today scoffs at the afflictions of another find himself in his turn involved in the like misfortunes. It is applied especially to the infirmities of old age. The strong man may laugh today at the weaknesses of age, but his own turn will come.

539 386 517 **132. Tuu tai:** Coloring standing, that is, a thing in which is the coloring matter used in staining the native cloth.

This phrase is not properly classed as a proverbial expression but is always written and felt as a single word, meaning beautiful, handsome, whether of physical feature or of conduct.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 571 183 is that anyone who wishes to do kind acts had better choose a time when they will be really useful.

539 821 534 412 287 **308. Ngingi uha:** Sounding (of) rain.

This indicates the sound of the mallets used for beating out the native cloth, or the sound of the native drum (*lali*) when there is rain about. The note of the drum or *tappa* mallets is then a sign of rain. Proverbially applied to the signs that something is about to happen. (See No. 564.)

539 821 [183] **309. Uha kei lelei:** Rain still good.

Rain falling at a suitable interval after the last previous downfall, as distinguished especially from rain which falls after so long a period of dry weather that many plants have died and are unable to profit by the downpour when it does come. Generally of actions and circumstances of all sorts that occur at appropriate times and are therefore able to achieve the maximum of good.

SEA AND COAST

539 481 829 **310. Anu tahi:** Swimming (floating, wading) in the sea.

Used of one in difficulties, exactly as we say, "one has got into deep water."

539 481 183 **311. Auhia kae kisu atu pe:** Obstructed by the current but spitting on.

The picture is that of a swimmer striving against the current with the water breaking in his face and getting in his mouth; but who keeps squirting or spitting the water from his mouth and battles bravely on. Applied to one who goes indomitably on his way in spite of the difficulties which beset him.

539 829 184 **312. Fai tahi:** Sea doings, that is, unusual behavior, sometimes deceitful conduct.

The gods of the sea had characteristics different from those of the land; the conduct of people at sea is not the same as their behavior ashore. It is hard to say what special differences, if any, exist between longshore and sea-going habits and particularly why the idea of craftiness should be associated with this expression. Broadly it appears to mean things that are not done ashore.

539 571 825 **313. Fakaita fai ki tahi:** Anger bestowed on sea; "to be revenged on another by punishing oneself." (Baker.)

The story is that a party of brothers prepared food, yam with rats. When the food was divided one of the brothers, apparently the youngest, was dissatisfied with his share and in his chagrin jumped over a cliff into the

14

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 836 302 585 565 Another explanation is that long locks were the sign of a betrothed maiden, and the expression means a maiden bethrothed by a chief who after all does not marry her. When finally she loses the virginal strands of hair it is not by being married to the chief she expected but by making a lowlier match. (See No. 459.)

539 262 585 **459. Ikai ha lu loloi:** Not a leaf cooked in oil.

Leaves of the taro and nowadays of the cabbage are frequently cooked with coconut and eaten. Used here as the symbol of the smallest and meanest kind of presentation of food. This phrase is not used alone, but as a completion of No. 458. The meaning is that the unfortunate girl has no sort of celebration; not even this trifling food gift falls to her share.

539 584 571 888 **460. See so:** *Scaring off* sweethearting.

Literally of a grave and reverend elder, or some such objectionable person, intruding on young men and maids. Thence of anyone "butting in" where he is not wanted.

539 584 829 **461. Vale pe he valeanga:** Foolish in the thing to be foolish about.

This refers to one who has been hard hit by the tender passion. A man madly in love may do many things that are not quite in accord with his customary well-balanced sanity, but what else is to be expected from a man in love? He is foolish, but under circumstances in which the whole world is apt to be a little less sane than usual.

539 584 **462. Viku ae malo o Afitu mo Lakepa:** The passion of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the praise of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the loin-cloth of Afitu and Lakepa is damped.

Whatever the literal translation the expression refers primarily to the disappointment suffered by the handsome *'Eiwaiai* Lolo, son of the chief of Afitu, who had also some connection with Lakepa or its chiefly house. Lolo had been uniformly successful in love until one occasion when he was taking home in his boat a fair lady who preferred another gallant, named Lepuha of Leimatua in Vavau (Lolo also lived in Vavau it would seem), and who jumped overboard and swam ashore and joined her lover. Lolo's chagrin is expressed in this phrase.

[574] *Malo* is a common word for praise, thanks, and possibly the expression means that the praise of Afitu and Lakepa has had a set-back.

[291] [284] *Malo* is also a small loincloth worn when one wants to be unencumbered with dress, as in fighting. The native cloth is spoiled by wetting, and so the expression may mean that the cloth is spoiled.

Another meaning of *malo* is the bloom of the breadfruit tree, and the explanation which involves this signification is perhaps on the whole the [826] best. The bloom of the breadfruit: both from its shape and its function as [831] a forerunner of fruit is likened to the membrum virile; and the expression is thus a very broad jest on the gallant's disappointment.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 761 287 **501. Hange ha mate mutukia:** Like a cut off death.

Mutukia means trimmed, as for example the edges of the native cloth which are trimmed during manufacture. Thence *mate mutukia* means sudden, unexpected, death. The expression is used of the unexpected occurrence of a painful or disastrous event.

539 764 **502. Matamatalelei fakafaitoka:** Beautiful like a cemetery.

People may adorn and care for a cemetery but however well it looks it is still not a place that one feels much at home in. So used of that which is beautiful but fails to evoke the feeling of appreciative comfort that makes one desire to linger in its vicinity.

539 768 183 **503. Noo ua poaki:** Begging off being strangled.

Refers to the strangling of victims on the death of a chief or other circumstances of a like nature where a human victim was called for. This taking of life seemed a quite proper thing and ordinarily evoked no popular dissent. This expression signifies literally that the individual to whom was assigned the leading part in the tragedy sought to evade his duty by an appeal to the people. So the phrase comes to mean attempting to beg off a duty which should be carried out.

539 764 521 **504. Tala fai ki tano:** Speech made to burying-ground.

Exhortation, commands, or other expressions directed towards the cemetery where there is none able to take heed and profit by what is said. So of totally unprofitable discourse.

539 764 763 **505. To hono aveave:** Plant his *aveave*.

A branch of the *aveave* (*Codiaeum variegatum* Pratt), was stuck into the ground in a cemetery to mark the spot where a grave was to be dug. When it was clear that a sick person was about to die a man was told to put in the *aveave*, which he did as a mark to direct those whose business it was to see to the digging of the grave and carrying out of the burial. The *aveave* was left at the grave to grow. The expression, therefore, is equivalent to saying that so-and-so is nearing his end, that it is all up with him.

It is interesting to note that a grave was not left open. The digging of the grave was one of the last pieces of work done in preparation for the interment and never done before the sick person was actually dead, though the *aveave* might be planted while the patient was still alive. In recent years we have seen a coffin made for an old lady, who though frail had vitality sufficient to do a little work even outside the house, and who survived by many months the completion of her coffin, which stood meanwhile on the side verandah of her house. Should an interment be postponed till the day after the grave had been dug, the hole will be filled in and dug out again on the next day. (See No. 498.)

539 765 276 574 431 **506. Tuui tae fakakava:** Visiting mourners without kava.

In visits to the friends and relatives of a person recently deceased it is customary to take gifts to the mourners, particularly to present them with

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

from the Marquesas, according to orders given before she left England, we should, through the favour of Heaven, have it in our power to present to the Captain a bright and cheering prospect of future usefulness and success. We consecrated our habitation, as soon as the natives retired, (two excepted, who stayed with us as our guard,) with hymns and praises to our God for all his providential mercies, and our favourable settlement in the Island: and then imploring his continued blessing and protection, committed ourselves to rest, much wearied with the fatigues of the day. A sound and pleasing slumber soon relieved, and refreshed us all: from which we were not roused, till the arrival of numerous visitors, who came to pay us their respects, and indulge their curiosity, awoke us. They all appeared persons of rank, as none came without considerable presents of bales of cloth, roasted pigs, bunches of ripe plantains, or strings of cocoa-nuts. They seemed to consider it a great honour to be permitted to enter our habitation; and were anxious to receive any presents from us.

Placed under the protection of a powerful chief, no one offered to molest us; but all appeared to vie in paying us honour and attention. So many presents were at length made us, of beautiful bales of cloth and mats, that we had not room to deposit them all. The cloth was by no means so contemptible as some Europeans may imagine. It was ad-

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

mirable,—made as is shown in another part of this work, out of the inner bark of trees, moulded, battered, and spread into a fine stout cloth, which, fringed with white, forms a very becoming and elegant dress. The mats were very curiously wrought with a tasty intertexture of different coloured threads: some mats were so closely knitted together, that when laid on the floor, they were a sure defence from insects, as they were impenetrable to them: and the insects crept under them, in the same manner as under a floor-cloth, or a board.

In return, we made the natives as many presents as our stock of articles afforded; but especially to the old chief, who was our protector. We always conducted ourselves towards our visitors with the utmost cheerfulness; and in every thing that appeared to excite their curiosity, we were most assiduous to gratify them with information. We soon fixed up a cuckoo-clock. This was viewed with great surprise, before it was put in motion. Presently, we set it a going; when, out came the cuckoo, and sounded, as the pendulum moved, "cuckoo cuckoo." They were filled with amazement, and for a time could not take their eyes off; till at last, they looked at each other with dumb surprise, and withdrew, without noticing or speaking to us, in perfect astonishment. The news of this surprising phenomenon, soon spread all over the Island. They reported we had got Accoulair, i. e. "wood

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

226 Fishing with a fish-basket is still sometimes practised by a few Pangai men. Some four men in the village know
(285) the technique of plaiting this basket from the twigs and small branches of the *kavahaha* shrub (used also for fish poison). The basket is about six feet in diameter, three feet deep, with a narrow mouth. Whenever this basket is not in use, its mouth must be kept stuffed with leaves; otherwise it will catch no fish. The basket is used as follows: Stone sinkers and bait of sea-porcupine are placed inside. It is then dropped in about ten fathoms of water and marked by a float. After some hours, it is pulled to the surface with its enclosed load of fish.

226 Of all fishing methods however, the one most used today
262 in Pangai is that of reef-fishing by the women at low tide. Armed with baskets and sticks, the women wade slowly over the reef-shallows hunting for edible reef-creatures. There are at least sixty of these named creatures and plants that are eaten. They range all the way from seaweeds to shell-fish, from jelly-fish to octopus, from crabs to sea porcupines
(461) and sea-slugs. These reef-expeditions combine work with pleasure. A group of women and girls spend hours on end wandering over the reefs, chattering and laughing among themselves, stopping occasionally to eat a particularly fat and juicy sea-slug, returning at last to the village loaded down with heavy baskets of food.

226 Compared with the numerous fishing-techniques and
178 large bodies of fishing-lore that are known and used, even today, by some of the other Polynesian peoples, it is evident that for the Pangai villager fishing is largely a lost art. This would not apply to other Tongan villages where there is easy and direct access to adjacent fishing-beds. The Pangai man seems largely to have given up the effort to obtain fish in quantity. He greatly enjoys fish when he can get it, whether by his own efforts, by gift, or by purchase. Fishing today
(461) with him however, is a side-line activity. Most of his working time is spent in his gardens and cultivations.

Bark Cloth Manufacture

● 287 The making of bark cloth *(ngatu)* is a good example of the manner in which the men and women of Pangai combine to carry out a group-activity. Bark cloth still has

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

many uses in Pangai. Each household keeps an adequate amount on hand to meet all possible emergencies. It is still largely used as bedding and is a necessity for any of the more formal gift-occasions. It is *tapu* to make bark cloth during a mourning period set for a chief, noble, or for members of the royal family. This *tapu* mourning period ranges from two to three months for a minor noble up to at least six months for a great noble and a period of more than a year after the death of royalty. No bark cloth may be made until someone in authority, the governor of Vava'u for instance, or the son of the deceased noble, notifies the village overseer that the mourning period is at an end. The overseer in turn relays this information to the women of the village.

A few women may meet together informally to make bark cloth near the house of the leader of the group. The more formal groups however, meet in a special house in the centre of the village which was built for the making of bark cloth and is used for no other purpose. This house is in European style. It was built about twelve years ago, all the households in the village contributing the required money, material, and labour. When such a formal party is organized, the women proceed to the bush to collect bark and dye-materials. These are obtained by each woman from mulberry-trees and dye-plants growing on the plantation of her husband or another relative. About three days later, after these materials have been prepared for use, the women meet together in the public house *(fale kautaha)*. There they are addressed by the village overseer who urges the women to work hard, to work quietly and to avoid scandalous or quarrelsome talk. Women from other villages may be invited by their Pangai friends to come and assist in the work. Each visitor assists the woman who has been responsible for her invitation.

The men meanwhile prepare large ovens of food together with relishes of pork, fish, and chicken. After the women have beaten out a specified length of bark cloth (any length from four to forty fathoms, as agreed upon), they notify the men who thereupon open the ovens and serve the food. The women eat again after a further specified length of cloth has been completed. The work proceeds quickly under the stimulus of group activity. A group of say, sixteen women

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

A group of say, sixteen women will make anything up to three hundred fathoms of bark cloth in one day's work. The length prepared is divided among all the women who shared in the work. Each household tries to keep from one to three hundred fathoms of cloth always on hand. This supply should last the household from one to four years, depending upon the size of the household, the number of gift occasions in which it participates, and the incidence of *tapu* mourning-occasions.

The stencilling of prepared barkcloth is a laborious job. There are relatively few stencils to be found in Pangai today. In terms of money-value, a new stencil costs from three to five pounds to make, depending upon the intricacy of the required design. Stencils are often borrowed. With their return to the owner would go a gift of from twenty to fifty fathoms of bark cloth according to the acknowledged value of the stencil. Stencils newly made today show a wide variety of designs and motifs. Besides the more orthodox flower and geometrical designs, stencils may include motifs which range from imaginative conceptions of the Tongan flag to the names of the main streets in Nukualofa. Many women in Pangai today are not bothering with stencils. They are decorating their bark cloth with freehand finger-painted designs. The orthodox Tongan dyes for bark cloth give two colours only: black and a reddish-brown. Today some women find commercial dyes bought at the store less troublesome and more pleasing to use. To the European eye these store-colours are often garish and crude as compared with the softness of the native dyes.

MAT-MAKING

The mats made by the Pangai women range from rough floor mats to the finer sleeping mats and, finest of all, the mats which function as skirts *(vala)*[10] to be worn on occasions

[10] The *vala* which for shortness' sake we translate as "skirt" (though the word skirt is likely to call up quite the wrong semantic association), consists of a rectangular piece of bark cloth or cotton piece-goods or a fine mat. It is worn wrapped round the waist, hanging from waist to ankles or just above them. For ordinary wear men fasten the *vala* at the waist with a leather belt; for ceremonial wear, with a sennit belt. Men wear the *vala* for everyday use. Men and women alike wear the ceremonial mat-*vala* on all occasions when respect and humility require symbolization.

swimming-beaches lie within easy walking-distance. Yet young boys rarely learn to swim before the age of six or seven, and girls often much later. Younger children are often severely whipped for venturing to stroll unattended toward the nearest village beach. Yet the beach itself provides safe swimming at all tides. Elsewhere in Polynesia, by contrast, children of three are already fair swimmers and none, parents or children, seem to have that fear of the water which is characteristic of the Pangai villager.

This decay in the art of fishing can be paralleled in other aspects of village economic life. In bark-cloth-making for example, there is apparent a sort of technique atrophy which may be the prelude to slow death. Mariner describes a technique for making bark cloth at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the prepared cloth was baked in an earth oven and then spread out all night to be dampened by the dew before it was sun-dried on the next morning and packed away in bales. None of the villagers had heard of the use of this oven-baking or dew-dampening process even though Mariner says that it increases the durability and strength of the bark cloth. The lack of just these two qualities in their bark cloth worries the Tongans today, when they compare bark cloth with cotton piece-goods. They have evidently forgotten, therefore, two skills that might be used to improve the quality of the bark cloth for which they still have major use.

A somewhat similar atrophy is noticeable in the arts of cooking. Here the introduction of the kerosene-tin or the iron cooking-pot has meant the ever-increasing use of the simple technique of boiling and a progressive lack of interest in oven-baking. By comparison with oven-food, even the villager admits that boiled food is tastelessly sodden and lacks variety of flavour. We read out to Biukala some of the recipes that Mariner gave for preparing Tongan foods. Most of the recipes he had heard of by name, many he could cook himself. But he had to admit that few of the villagers had either the knowledge or the patience to prepare Tongan food according to these older methods. Whatever variety there is introduced into the food eaten today often comes from the addition of large amounts of cane sugar to mixtures of flour and water, or else from the use of tinned beef and

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

643 645 Speech had been copied out and submitted to the king; for several days we heard no more of it. Half afraid that our opponents would contrive to see it and endeavour to have it altered, at the last moment I insisted upon Tukuaho asking for it back. After some delay it was produced—in another handwriting as I expected. The passage about Mr Baker had been so altered as to convey an untrue and improper meaning. The handwriting was Sateki's, but he seems to have been merely the amanuensis. Rather than that it should stand in its present form, I took the Speech to the king. He was evidently expecting a remonstrance,

[291 516 287]

"The faint tap of the gatu mallets."

and showed in his tone that he was on the defensive. "But why allude to the past?" I asked.

"Was it I who did so?" he said. Then apparently satisfied with having his advantage, he laughed, and readily allowed me to expunge the whole passage.

646 291 The great day dawned cloudless and drowsy. The hum of the fleecy breakers on the distant reef, the faint tap of the *gatu* mallets, vaguely suggested a reverie in a hammock and the unsubstantial folds of the *vala;* but native garments were to-day forbidden, for Parliaments in civilised

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

244 guese. Among these may be reckoned the *kumala*, or sweet potato, (*Convolvulus batatas*,) and the *talo*, or *arum*, of botanists. Both are grown; but the former is considered to be a very vulgar substitute for the yam; while the latter requires such marshy land for its perfect success, that only a very few spots are found suitable for it in the Friendly group. The common potato has been tried by the Missionaries, and thrives pretty well in favourable situations. The potatoes, however, soon degenerate in size and flavour, so that a renewal of imported seed becomes necessary every second or third year. It would, no doubt, do better if cultivated only on the higher lands of Vavau, and in similar localities.

There are several species of the *ji*, (*Dracæna*,) and from one of these a large root is obtained, which, when baked, yields a considerable quantity of brown saccharine liquid, sometimes used in sweetening native puddings; while the stringy substance of the root itself is eaten, and resembles somewhat in taste the sweetness of stick cinnamon. The leaves of the different sorts of *ji* afford capital fodder for goats, sheep, and cattle.

The arrowroot plant, (*Tacca pinnatifida*,) grows wild, and is found in quantities sufficient to meet the wants of the people, without any special care being devoted to its cultivation. The chief use of the starch, obtained from it by the natives, is in the manufacture of their *gatu*, or cloth. The various small stripes of *fetaaki*, or beaten bark, of which the cloth is made, are joined together by means of arrowroot paste. Any quantity, however, of the root could be raised with but little outlay or labour; and when a better method of scraping and

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

from whence their fighting excursions were made. 712
In besieging such places, they well understood the 725
method of approaching by trenches, and rifle-pits,
defended by earthworks and strong stockades.
They were also well versed in the science of 723
strategy, and knew no mercy to the vanquished 727
who fell into their hands. The contending parties 726
seldom met in a general engagement. The strife
was usually a series of skirmishes. Those taken in 727
war, whose lives were spared, became the *bobulas*,
or slaves, of the conquerors; and these were often
treated with the most refined and horrible cruelty,
at the caprice of their proprietor.

In times of peace, the men were fully occupied 462
in the various pursuits of agriculture, fishing,
sinnet-plaiting, canoe and house building, and,
above all, in voyaging. The women devoted them- (287)
selves to the unceasing manufacture of the *fetoaki*,
or white beaten bark, of which the native cloth
was made, and to the completion of the process
in those *kokaagas*, or united gatherings of the
female sex, where the cloth was fashioned into
one immense piece, and then printed in brown and
black colours, according to the fancy of the maker.
The women did no field or house drudgery in the
Friendly Islands. They never even cooked the [252]
victuals of the family, that being always the duty
of the men. In addition to the manufacture of
gatu, or native cloth, their chief work was to
bring water from the wells; make all the sleeping
and wearing mats for both sexes; also baskets and
bags for various purposes, and any other little
nick-nacks for household use. Feasts, dances, 517
games, wrestling matches, and canoe races, filled
up much of the time of the people. Some of these

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

The *kautaha* is described by one informant as a "big society". It is formed for a specific purpose and joined by men interested in achieving this purpose. One example would make the matter clear. In one village I visited there was a *kautaha* with a membership of about 40 men, comprising the majority of the adult males in the village, which was formed for the purpose of extending banana plantations. The overall target was that each member should have 1,000 banana shoots planted strictly for himself by a certain day in December; and once this overall aim was agreed upon, they split themselves up into four *tou ngaue* of 9 or 10 members each for the purpose of actually doing the work on the land. While the *kautaha* as a whole was interested in the progress of its members towards the target, the actual organisation of work was left to the various *tou ngaue*: these were the media through which the members ensured that their own bananas were planted. A lot of hard work was carried out in clearing the bush and planting the shoots, and on the appointed day the leading members of the *kautaha* did a complete tour of the plantations of each member to ensure formally for the *kautaha* that the bananas had actually been planted. It was an almost ceremonial affair, ending with the consumption of an elaborate feast.

The *tou lalaga* is the women's work group formed for the making of *tapa* cloth. The task of joining together pieces of beaten bark into large pieces of *tapa* cloth is a laborious one requiring the labour of many hands, and for this purpose women would call upon their friends to come and help. The friends in their turn would call on their own friends, and in the end 50 or more women may be involved. In this case the women are fed by the owner of the *tapa* cloth.

7—Kinship and Land Use

There are two important ways in which fully autonomous households may be connected with one another through use of the land which they work. In the first place, when land is short and a number of families have to go without, they can usually make do by sharing the use of the *api* of others or by using the *api* of those who are away from the village. In the second place, a group of brothers or of a father and his sons, although living in separate households and owning separate *api* at law, may combine together their entire holdings and work them as a single unit. In the village under study there were two clear-cut cases of this sort. In each case the *api* concerned were contiguous, and clearing, at which the men concerned worked together, ranged from one *api* into the next. Copra was certainly produced jointly and the proceeds controlled by the senior member; but I am uncertain whether food gardens were individually owned.

In both cases, kinship is an important factor in the alignment of households. Of the 19 households that share the use of the *api* of others in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 5 have no relatives in the village anyway, leaving only 4 which

532 evidence of idolatry and heathenism. Whereas wood
177 carving had been done previously with adzes or tools made of shell or tooth, local artisans became attracted to the more highly perfected metal instruments of the foreigners. Strongly influenced by materialism and other characteristics of western civilization, the Tongans abandoned the majority of their former artistic activities, and consequently, the
[462] entire realm of Tongan art has suffered. For the
[287] most part, only the arts of women (e.g. tapa making,
[285] basket and mat weaving) have survived up to the present day in Tonga.[7]

341 Tongan architecture has obviously been
342 influenced by contact with the west; rafter lashing
177 with hand-braided sennit is rarely to be seen any more, and it is not uncommon to find Tongan
283 houses today with corrugated iron roofs.
284 Hand-carved war clubs and other weapons, as well as
411 the skillfully-designed double canoes, have been
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[p.16-A]

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[Caption for this photo is on page 18]

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"Langa Fonua" is the women's handicraft co-operative which has grown over the past decade, with the support of Queen Salote and Queen Mata'aho, into a prominent association. It helps people in villages and islands off the route of cruise ships to organise and send their crafts to the *Langa Fonua* shops in Nuku'alofa (shown here) and Neiafu, Vava'u to be sold to tourists.

'Oku **lahi** lolei 'supito 'a Langa Fonua he ngaahi 'aho ni. Kuo 'osi mahalo eni ha ta'u e hongofulu hili 'a hono 'ulukaki kamata 'o e kautaha fakamea'a fetokoni'aki ni, pea 'asili foki 'a hono fai malohi e ngaue ni koe'uhi ko hono poupou'i 'e Kuini Salote, pea mo Kuini Mata'aho foki. 'Oku 'i ai foki e falekoloa 'e taha 'o e Langa Fonua 'i Nuku'alofa ('a ia 'oku 'asi 'i he ta) pea taha 'i Neiafu.

[p. 19]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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Eyes sparkling with pride, each of these ladies of the Foa Handicraft Co-op in Ha'apai displays her own hand-crafted piece of tapa cloth. The local co-op was formed recently with the aid of a Peace Corps Volunteer.

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'Oku **mahino mei he fofonga malimali** 'o e kau fefine ni 'a 'enau takitaha laukau'aki 'a 'ene konga ngatu. Ko e kau fefine 'eni mei he kautaha fakamea'a fetokoni'aki 'i Foa, Ha'apai. Na'e kamata e kautaha ni 'e ha toko taha ngaue 'ofa mei 'Amelika (Peace Corps).

Mat weaving is a very important part of life in Tonga today. In addition to being used everyday for floor covering and bedding, mats are also traditionally presented on all special occasions (e.g. weddings, births, funerals). Most weaving materials come from a variety of species of the pandanus plant. In the photo at right, Halamahi Tu'imana skillfully weaves an edging into her newly-woven *lotaha* (single thickness) mat in Ha'atu'a, 'Eua.

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'Oku kei fai lahi e lalanga 'i Tonga he ngaahi 'aho ni. 'Oku ngaue'aki foki e fala ke fatiki 'aki ha fale, pea hoko foki ko e me'a'ofa 'i he taimi 'oku fai ai ha mali, fa'ele pe ko ha pusu. Ko e ngaahi lou'akau kehekeha 'oku fai 'aki e lalanga. 'Oku ha 'i he ta 'i to'omata'u 'a Halamahi Tu'imana 'oku fai 'ene lalanga lotaha 'i Ha'atu'a, 'Eua.

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[Captions for these photos are on page 23]

[p.22]

287 **Tapa making, one of the traditional arts of Tonga, is widely practiced today. Step (1) involves stripping the paper mulberry tree (photo at top left: Milika Fatai, Kolomotu'a) to reach the inner bark. (2) Strips of the soft inner bark are then soaked and pounded to be stretched (photo at bottom left: Kilisitina Fihaki and Lusiane Hafoka, 'Eua). The mellow tap-tap-tapping of mallets beating tapa is quite a common sound in villages. (3) Natural dyes are made of juice from the *koka, tongo* (mangrove), or *ñuitui* (candlenut) tree. Below, ladies at Halamangaono in Vava'u twist a sleeve of *koka* bark shavings to extract the brownish dye, which drips into the bowl under it.**

'Oku kei lahi 'aupito 'i Tonga 'a e koka'anga pea mo e ngaahi ngaue kehekehe fekau'aki mo ia. (1) Ko hono hae eni 'o e hiapo 'e Milika Fatai (ta 'i to'ohema ki 'olunga) mei Kolomotu'a. (2) Ko e tutu eni 'a Kilisitina Fihaki pea mo Lusiane Hafoka (ta 'i to'ohema ki lalo) mei 'Eua. (3) Ko ha kau fine'eiki eni mei he kolo ko Halamangaono 'i Leimatu'a, Vava'u, 'oku fai 'enau taukoka (ta 'i lalo).

3 [p.23]

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(4) Individual strips of inner bark are then pieced together, and patterns are imprinted upon the tapa cloth by laying it on relief design tablets attached to a long, convex board (*papakoka'anga*—see photo below: Mu'a) and by rubbing to make the raised designs underneath appear. (5) Some relief design tablets or *kupesi* (made of tiny midribs from coconut leaves) are displayed at upper right by 'Emelita Kautai Johnston. (6) In the final stage, the brownish designs are outlined with black dye (photo at lower right: Houma, Tongatapu). A single tapa cloth averages 75 feet in length, and is later cut up into smaller pieces as needed—e.g. for bedding, funerals, marriage gifts.

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(4) Ko ha koka'anga eni 'i Mu'a, Tongatapu (ta 'i lalo), 'a ia 'oku fai ai 'a hono hokohoko 'o e ngaahi kongokonga feta'aki 'aki e mahoa'a. (5) Ko 'Emelita Kautai Johnston eni mei Mu'a (ta 'i to'omata'u ki 'olunga) mo ha ngaahi kupesi. (6) Ko e konga fakamuimui 'i he ngaue ni 'a hono tohi (ta 'i to'omata'u ki lalo), 'o hange ko ia 'oku fai heni 'i Houma, Tongatapu.

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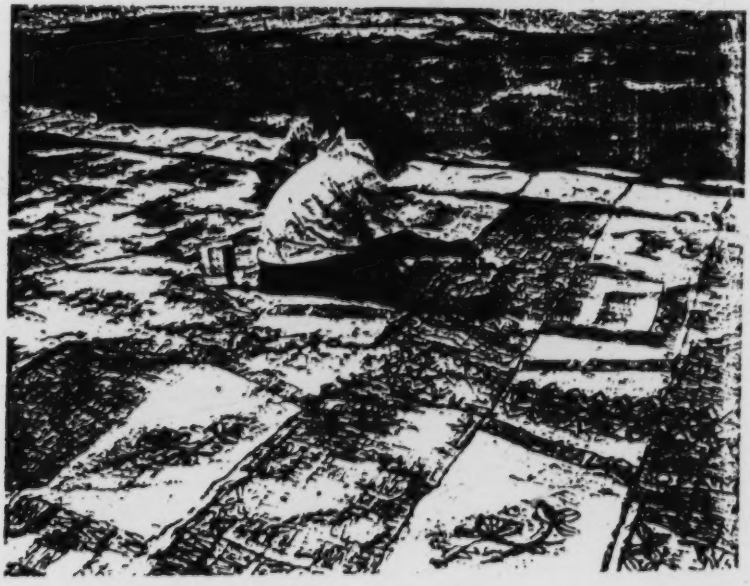

[p.25]

of an 'api is further enlivened by the children and young people, who spend much of the time outside during the day. 351

Besides a lively appearance, there is generally a lively (although not noisy) daytime sound in the village. In the mornings, while children are at school, one hears the rhythmic tones of wood striking wood as women beat the bark of the paper mulberry, making tapa cloth. And in the afternoons there are shouts of excitement as the young people play basketball. In the late afternoon, the sound of unaccompanied singing can be heard from one or other of the churches. But after about nine in the evening, most people are indoors, at home or visiting neighbors, and village sounds are muted. 512 [287] [526] [533] [794] [574]

The boundaries of a number of 'api are marked by a fence, whose main purpose is not to serve as a boundary marker but to keep own livestock in and other livestock out. Fences, therefore, are intended to be sturdy and are made of wooden palings or of chicken wire. Some of those close to the main road, which serve decorative as well as protective purposes, are ornamented by shrubbery. Houses along the main road have a preferred position, providing ease of access, the opportunity for display, and convenience in monitoring the comings and goings of others. Houses further back are reached by narrow trails along which one must pick one's way with care, or by wider unpaved paths that soon become muddy bogs when it rains. 351 417 351 361 [554] [487]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592 members to make adequate contributions of goods and labor
511 on a wide range of ceremonial occcasions that occur at
476 irregular intervals throughout the year such as feasts,
621 funerals, and weddings. There is a class of goods called
koloa ('treasure') that come into play only on ceremonial
[285] occasions. These consist mainly of finely-woven mats of
[287] various kinds (kie, fihu, and ngafingafi) and decorated
[554] tapa-cloth (ngatu). Koloa, which is amassed through
[431] manufacture by women of the household or through previous
ceremonial prestation to members of the household, is
used to express status relations between giver and
receiver on occasions such as weddings and funerals.[7]
[431] If one does not have koloa, one cannot participate in
ceremonial exchanges, and not to do so is to be outside
the system of rights and obligations that are the founda-
592 tion of anga faka-Tonga ('the Tongan way'). Similarly,
621 to participate in the community, a household must give
476 feasts and contribute to others' feasts. Contributions
574 consist mainly of appropriate livestock or other foods:
[262] pigs, chickens, lobsters, tinned beef, yams, watermelon
--in sum, feast food. To some extent, services such as
assistance in preparing and serving the feast can be

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7 For descriptions of ceremonial exchanges in Tonga, see Aoyagi (1966: 167-172), Beaglehole (1941: 91-98), and Collocott (1923: 221-225).

membership and may extend beyond the boundaries of the village. No local-level entity has the authority to co-ordinate the activities of these groups, to convene a village council of any sort, or to organize any other village-wide activity. In summary, the village neither functions as a political group nor is there any other group whose membership co-incides with all the inhabitants of the village. For these reasons, it is doubtful whether the Tongan village is to be regarded as a local group. Even for the isolated village-islands of Ha'apai, the only village-wide activity reported in response to my enquiries was that in some villages there is an occasional joint fish-catching expedition.[4]

In Motulahi, the closest approximation to village-wide action during the period of my fieldwork was the observance of a period of mourning when there was a death in the village.[5] For a few days after each death, no movies were shown and there was a stillness throughout the village. Usually, during the day, one hears the rhythmic note of wood striking wood as women pound bark into tapa-cloth, but this is put aside for the few days that the mourning is observed.

4 The Beagleholes give a description of joint fishing operations (1941: 36-37).

5 There were five deaths in the village during the period of my fieldwork: an old man, a boy, and three infants.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

> Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the expression of social relationships, social behaviour is not constrained by the prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their economic lives (1960:123).

The resources available to the Tongan household must be sufficient to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions of goods and labor on ceremonial occasions.

The everyday material needs of a household consist mainly of foodstuffs and fuel, along with petty cash for such items as bus fares, matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally cultivated subsistence products. (There must, of course, be labor available to prepare and make use of these products, hence the need for human capital). Everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread, flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and dried milk. The frequency and amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how much cash is available.

A household must also have the cash for periodic outlays to pay members' expenses, such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every male over the age of 15, church contributions, and schooling expenses for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing and fabric, household utensils, and other implements. Such purchases and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays, which are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly before it is needed. Men collect coconuts and make copra or else sell the coconuts directly to the Tonga Copra Board, while women prepare handicrafts for sale to tourists. There is noticeably more copra-making activity and also a well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand, with whatever is left being doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

Finally, a household must have the means for its members to make adequate contributions of goods and labor on a wide range of ceremonial occasions that occur at irregular intervals throughout the year: feasts, funerals, weddings, and so forth. There is a class of goods called *koloa* ("treasure") that come into play only on ceremonial occasions; these consist mainly of finely woven mats of various kinds (*kie*, *fihu*, and *ngafingafi*) and printed tapa-cloth (*ngatu*). *Koloa*, which is amassed through manufacture by women of the household or through

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

previous ceremonial prestation to members of the household, is used to express status relations between giver and receiver.[9] If one does not have *koloa,* one cannot participate in ceremonial exchanges, and not to do so is to be outside the system of rights, expectations, and obligations that are the foundation of *anga faka-Tonga,* "the Tongan way."

Similarly, to be a member of the community, a household must give feasts and contribute to others' feasts. Contributions consist mainly of appropriate livestock or foods: pigs, chickens, lobsters, tinned beef, yams, watermelon—in sum, feast food. To some extent, moreover, such services as assistance in preparing and serving the feast can be substituted for contributions of food. (Especially close friends and relatives will usually provide both.[10]) According to my estimate, there were only five households in the village of Motulahi that could afford to sponsor a feast without assistance. Yet, almost every household in the village manages to host at least one feast every 12 to 15 months. They can afford to do so because they are assisted by contributions from other households whom they have assisted in the past. This is not to say that the household is considered as the unit that makes the contributions, for contributions are viewed as coming from individuals. The household itself is the unit in feasting activities only if a member of the household is hosting the feast. Nevertheless, when a person makes contributions to a feast at another household, he obtains the goods from the common pool of resources in his own household. The greater a household's participation as a contributor through the contributions of its members, the more assistance the household will receive when it comes time to act as host.

SOURCES OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME

While a household is not expected to be self-sufficient when it comes to hosting a feast, it must be able, in one way or another, to provide for the other material needs of its members. To do so, however, the household must have the means of access either to the products of an agricultural allotment or to the income from some job, and preferably both. Without one or the other, no household is viable (although it is true that there is less need for cash away from the main island of Tongatapu, and certainly less likelihood of access to a job).

In 1970, 42 Motulahi households had no source of cash income other than the production and preparation for sale of coconuts and/or copra (see Table 6). In other words, almost 30% of the households in the

9 For a description of ceremonial exchanges in Tonga, see Aoyagi (1966:167-72), Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941:91-98), and Collocott (1923:221-225).

10 For a discussion of the membership and activities associated with Tongan kin groups at the local level, see Aoyagi (1966:150-160) and Decktor Korn (1974:9-11).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 249]

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

relaxing or soothing, which may have given rise to the translation of *'upe* as lullaby. Even in 1953 when Great Britain's Queen Elizabeth visited Tonga she was awakened by noseflutes. A recording of noseflute music can be heard each day at the opening and closing of the Tongan broadcasting station. The word for noseflute, *fangufangu*, also means "to awaken gradually" and it is said to have been a punishable offense to awaken a chief by startling him. Traditionally, a commoner may have been considered presumptuous if he attempted to use a noseflute, to awaken someone in his own family (which had its own internal ranking system, see Kaeppler 1971 b). I suggest that the panpipe in Tonga could have been either a substitute for a noseflute and used by the lower classes as a functional replacement of this chiefly instrument, or it may have been an alternate or additional instrument for noseflute functions. The noseflute in some contexts may also have been used as a pleasurable way to pass the time—again more the prerogative of chiefs than commoners.

In support of this argument, I offer the two lines of evidence explored above. First, that a panpipe was capable of simulating melodic contours conceptually similar to the playing of two melodic contours by two noseflutes with slightly different sets of pitches. They were not, however, trying to reproduce noseflute pitches or to play the same songs—which may still have been considered *fie'eiki* (i.e., presuming above one's station). The reason for simulating the sounds of two noseflutes may be a reflection of social structure. When used to awaken chiefs, if two or more noseflutes were played together, they would have produced a polyphonic structure which could have been one melodic contour (*fasi*) played at different pitch levels and with slightly different pitch relationships; or a *fasi* played on one noseflute and accompanied by one or more drone pitches on the other noseflute(s). As far as we know, noseflutes were not hocketed, but according to presentday informants, the performers played the *fasi* alternately while the other player(s) might play a drone pitch. According to Samwell on Cook's third voyage, "about sunset they play upon their flutes... before their Houses" (Beaglehole 1967, part 2: 1036). This suggests that several flutes may have been played simultaneously, which could have been easily heard from house to house. It is likely that they were playing "in concert", playing the same melodic contour on flutes that were tuned slightly differently just

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

as a woman beating tapa in one house will join her rhythm to that of the women beating tapa in houses around her. Aesthetic complexity by the addition of parts which in themselves were simple was encouraged by the social structure (rather than a complexity achieved by a more specialized individual). The complex and interesting musical product required the participation of several unspecialized individuals, who by their very participation sanctioned the stratified social system. The panpipe made it possible for one person to emulate this musical conception and thus use a similar kind of music in a nonchiefly or individual context.

The second line of evidence follows from the relative number of panpipes and noseflutes over time using specimens in museum collections for which the provenance is known. As shown above, panpipes were relatively abundant during the second voyage of Captain Cook. Others can be traced to Cook's third voyage and there is mention in Labillardière. In the 19th century they disappear from the record except for the five-pipe variety which may, by that time, have become mainly a toy. On the other hand, Tongan noseflutes, whose provenance is Cook's second voyage, are at the most only four in number (Oxford, Göttingen, and two depicted in Volume I of the Stone drawings from the Leverian Museum, one of which is now in Vienna [Kaeppler, in preparation, a]). One can be traced to Cook's third voyage (Berne), and for one the voyage cannot be determined (Vienna). All six of these have the placement of holes distinctive of early Tongan noseflutes, i.e., three holes on the upper surface of the flute (one near each end and one at the middle), one hole on the under side (opposite the middle hole), and one hole on each side surface of the flute (one between the middle and nose hole and one between the middle and end hole)[20]; see figs. 10 and 16 left. Often they were beautifully decorated with geometric designs and occasionally wrapped with braided coconut fiber. This small number of examples suggests that they may, indeed, have been used mainly in the service of chiefs and there were not many superfluous ones around. Webber made a drawing of a man playing a noseflute but he did not make a drawing of a panpipe in use. This may be because he usually depicted the affairs of chiefs, or he did not see a panpipe being played, or he did not consider it important.

Tongan noseflutes in museum collections that do not come from

/see pp. 125 and 127--Analyst/

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

seem to regard it. As we saw no signs of its bad effects, probably their way of living greatly abates its virulency. We observed several who had ulcers upon different parts of their bodies, some of which had a very virulent appearence, particularly those in the face which were shoking to look at; on the other hand some seemed to be cured and others in a fair way, but this was not effected without the loss of the nose or best part of it. But this cannot be the effect of the Veneral as they were subject to it before the English vesited them, unless they had the veneral desease before which they say not.[1]

Traffick No Nation in the world understand Traffick or Barter which they call *Fagatou*[2] better than these people, neither are there perhaps any Indians that traffick with more honisty and less distrust, we could always trust them with our good[s] to hand one to another to examine and they put the same confidence in us; if either party repented of the bargen the goods were reexchanged with mutal consent on both sides. At first we imagined their knowlidge of trade might rise from their traffick with the neighbouring islands, or with one another; but we were afterward assured that they had little or no traffick either amongst themselves or with any other islands except Fidgee from which they get red feathers and a few other articles mentioned before. It is at this island those few earthen Vessels we have some times seen among them are made.[3]

Manufacture The principal Manufacture in these islands as well as many other in this sea is their cloth, the making of which is very minutly discribed in Hawksworths Voyages Vol. 2, page 210.[4] But though this Cloth is made of the same Materials as that at Otaheite yet it is of a different nature and the latter part of the process in making is different. After the layers of bark are properly cleaned, they are placed one by the end of another till they are a yard or at the most two yards in length, but seldom bro[a]der than the layer of bark which is about three or four inches. When the fibres are adhered together it is ready for the Mallet with which it is beaten on the smooth side of a piece of wood in the same manner as at Otahiete, till it is as thin as Coarse Gause. Very often they take the layers of

more than one. The *singfu*, or concubine, had a regulated position and recognised rank.

[1] Once more, from this description, one suspects yaws. But skin ulcers, extremely unpleasant to look at, might arise from a variety of causes in the islands, even from an untended cut or coral scratch.

[2] *fakatau*.

[3] Cf. II, p. 263, n. 6. Twentieth-century archaeology, it may be added, is finding traces of the potter in the most unlikely islands.

[4] From Banks's description; see also Banks's *Endeavour Journal*, I, pp. 353–60. Cook's own brief description will be found in I, pp. 132–3. The journal-keepers found it very hard to refrain from describing *tapa*-manufacture; and indeed it is a fascinating thing to watch. The Tongans are still extremely adept.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

bark just as they are cleaned and beat them out as thin as they will bear without any regard to form. The Mallet is of the same shape as that used at Otaheite, each side being three inches broad, one of which is smooth and the other three marked length ways with five or Six grooves, or furrows. I never saw a piece of cloth come from under the Mallet of more than two yards in length and a yard or a yard and a half wide, but more generally not a fourth part as big, to make larger pieces requires a different process. They have a large piece of wood made out of the trunk of [a] tree split in two, one side is made round and smooth and the other hollowed out; the round side is fifteen or eighteen inches over and the length of the log is equal to the broadest cloth the family it belongs to makes. On the round side of this log they fix platens, or patterns which are made of the leaves of the Wharra tree plated one into another, and stitched, or worked over with the fibres of Cocoanut husks by which the pattern is formed so as to give an impression. Over these they spread very smooth the cloth, and bring it to the breadth they intend it by pasting one piece to another with a fruit which they call , it is used when green, is something larger than a current berry and is an excellent gluten.[1] The work women hold a bunch of them between her teeth from which she plucks one when wanted. Over this first cloth is pasted a second and some times a third if the cloth is intended to be thick, the last is a[l]ways the best. After all the holes, if any, are repaired by pasting on patches, the whole is gently rubed over with a sort of varnish, or oily substance, which is expressed from the bark of a tree called by them .[2] At the same time this is laying on they press the Cloth with the hand so that it receives the impression of the pattern. The varnish presently dries and is of a light brown Colour, if they want it darker, they mix with it, more or less, of the soot that is produced by burning an oily nut the same as serves for Candles at Otaheite.[3] The first length being finished they remove it of the block and begin with another, thus they continue pasting one piece to another and working one length after another

[1] 'The viscous juice of a berry called 'Toōō', says Anderson, with the note, 'This is the Cordia'. Tou in Tahiti and other islands is *Cordia subcordata*; but in Tonga, according to Churchward's dictionary, is *Melochia odorata* (the student who wishes to confuse himself may consult also Yuncker's *Plants of Tonga*). Churchward has a second definition, in which the parboiled fruit of *Melochia*, dipped in water, was formerly used as *tou* for pasting tapa—*tou* thus apparently being the paste. But Anderson and Cook must have seen the process.

[2] '. . . a juice extract'd from a tree call'd Kokka'—King. '. . . the soft bark of the *coco* tree and the *toei-toei* tree, either of which when wrung out, without water, yields a reddish brown juice, to be used as a die.'—Mariner, II, p. 204. Coco = Koka, *Blachefia jamaica*; *toei-toei* = Tuitui, or candle-nut, *Aleurites moluccana* (the Tahitian *tutui*).

[3] That is, the candle-nut, from the bark of the tree of which came the original lighter brown.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

till it is the length they intend it. The hollowed side of the log of wood is to receive the ends of the unworked cloth, so that they may be out of the way of the work women. They have of this cloth of different degrees of f[i]neness, according to the bark on which it is made; the finest is made of the Chinese paper Mulberry tree.[1] The Courser sort of which they make very large piec[e]s does not receive the impression of any platen, but is made on the log only.[2] Of the finer sort, they have some that is striped, chequered and other patterns of different colours, but how these Colours are laid on I can not say as I never saw any of this sort made.[3] All these sorts will resist water for some time and that which has the strongest glaze will resist it the longest.

The next considerable Manufacture is matting in which they exceed all the places I have been at both in texture and beauty. Many of those which are made of the bark of the Poerou[4] so far exceed those they have at Otaheite, that they are not a bad article to carry their by way of trade. They also excell in making baskets, some are exceedingly neat and they have of them of many different patterns. It is almost needless to say that they make ropes and lines of all sorts, Nets for fishing, fish-hooks and all manner of fishing geer with the greatest facility. But in what I think they most excell in point of workmanship, is in the building their Canoes, for an account of which and the manner of Navigating them I refer to the narrative of my last voyage.[5]

Masonry Masonry I have seen none but in the walls that inclose their Morais and their is nothing extraordinary in them but the size of the Stones, some of which are ten or twelve feet in length, four or five in breadth and one or more in thickness.[6] I examined several of these stones and found them composed of Coral sand and small Marine shells, and therefore concluded that they had been hewn from of the surface of the coral rocks. But even to do this with thier tools is no little work for before they got Iron they had only adze[s] of stone, a chissel of bone; a coral stone and sand and the Skin

[1] *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tahitian Aute, Tongan Hiapo. The dyed cloth thus described is properly called *ngatu*, not *tapa* as in the other islands.

[2] It was made from the bark of the young breadfruit tree, Mei (Tahitian Uru). This plain cloth the Tongans called *tapa*; it was, says Mariner (II, p. 206), 'seldom worn, but is chiefly used for various purposes at funerals'.

[3] With a small stick used as a brush, as is still done.

[4] This was the Tahitian name, Purau, for the common *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. The Tongan name was Fau.

[5] II, pp. 263–5, 447–8.

[6] Cook's misuse of the word 'moral' (*mala'e*) has already been noted. The reader interested in the remarkable structure of *fa'itoka* and *langi* can do no better than refer to the extended account in McKern's *Archaeology of Tonga*, pp. 30 ff.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

535 They danc'd and recited sentences with some very short intervals for
533 about half an hour, sometimes quickly sometimes more slowly, but with such a degree of exactness as if all the motions had been made by one man, which did them great credit. Near the end the hind rank divided, came round and took the place of the front as in the first dance, which again resum'd its situation, and when they finish'd the Drums and Chorus again went off.

[482 Three drums (which always took two, sometimes three men to
534 carry them) were brought in and seventy men sat down as a Chorus
292 to the third dance, which consisted of two ranks of sixteen each with
287] a chief nam'd Toobou (not the one mentiond before) at their head, who was richly ornamented with a sort of garment cover'd with red feathers, an article much esteem'd here. These danc'd, sung and twirl'd the Pagge as before, but in general much quicker and so well
535 that they had the constant applauses of the spectators. A motion
293 chiefly approv'd was one in which they held their faces aside as if asham'd & the Pagge before it. The hind rank clos'd before the first and that again resum'd its place as at the other dances, but they began again, form'd a triple row, divided, retreated to each end and left the greatest part of the ground clear, on which two men enter'd very hastily and excercis'd the clubs which they use in battle. They did this by first twirling the club in their hands and making circular strokes before them with great force and quickness, but so exactly together that though standing quite close they never interfer'd. They shifted them to the opposite hands with equal dexterity, and after continuing a little time kneeld & made different motions, tossing the club up in the air which they caught as it fell, and went off as hastily
535 as they entered. Their heads were cover'd with a piece of white cloth
292 tied at the crown almost like a night cap, with a wreath of foliage round the forehead, but they had only a very small piece of cloth made of thread almost like what our girls sow upon at school ty'd about the middle, seemingly that they might be cool & free from any
535 incumbrance or weight. A person with a spear dress'd like the former then came in, also in a hasty manner, & look'd about eagerly as if he wanted some body to throw it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the crowd in the front and put himself in a threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike with it at one of them, bending the knee a little and trembling as it were with rage. He continued in this manner only a few seconds when he came quickly over to the other side and put himself in the same posture at two of us who stood together, & standing about the same time retreated from the ground as fast as he had appear'd. The two partys of dancers, who had divided, kept

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

the large end against a stone fix'd in the ground for that purpose, and the other being push'd against the door serves as a strong bar, which makes it as necessary to rap here at the door as at a gate in England before you can enter an inclosure. In a great many of them there is a smaller inclosure within, this also often with a door, where the house of the principal person is immediately plac'd, and near it or very often in the outer one houses of an inferior sort for servants and dependents. There are sometimes several little places again within this that have fences and houses, but communicate freely with each other, and in most there is commonly a pretty spot of short grass, though of no regular figure, before them with sweet smelling shrubs call'd Ma'eele[1] and Hooe[2] planted up and down and some other trees that produce beautifull flowers. The outer inclosure has commonly such things as they often want planted in them, as Cocoa nut trees or some plantanes and bread fruit, but no considerable plantations of Plantanes or Yams.

Beyond this a mile or two we generally found the Plantations more extensive but open, and still farther on a great quantity of uncultivated land coverd with grass as high as the Knee. Our guides said if we advanc'd that way we should still find a waste uncultivated country, or as they call it Vâó,[3] but they probably did it only to save themselves a little fatigue, for some miles beyond this the land seem'd to rise a little higher and had a great many Cocoa trees, both signs of its being cultivated. It could also be observ'd that even in this place the soil was good, and it is probable many of the spots only lay fallow, for we saw two or three large plantane fields that had lately been broke in from such ground. It is remarkable that when on the highest part, which is at least a hundred feet above the level of the sea, we often found the same coral rock which is found at the shore, projecting above the surface in the paths; and in many places where there were large breaches with a small quantity of stinking water at the bottom, it was always in the solid coral shatterd or seperated as it were by violence.

At one place we fell in with a house where they were manufacturing their cloth, which though extensive in itself is a very simple operation. They take the slender stalks (or trunks) of the papper mulberry plant, which they cultivate for that purpose and seldom grows more than six or seven feet in height or four fingers in thickness, from which they strip the bark and scrape off the outer rind with

[1] Maile, *Alyxia stellata*, a shrub with fragrant long slender stems, abundant small leaves and dark red berries, much used for wreaths.

[2] Hoi, *Dioscorea bulbifera*, one of the yams, with small flowers in spike-like clusters.

[3] vao, land in its natural uncultivated state. Anderson is very accurate.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

a muscle shell. It is then roll'd up to take of the convexity which it had round the plant, tied and macerated in water for some time (they say a night), after which it is laid across the trunk of a small tree squar'd, and beaten with a square wooden instrument about a foot long, full of coarse grooves on all sides but sometimes with one plain. According to the size of the bark a piece is soon produc'd but the operation is often repeated by another hand, or it is folded several times and beat longer by the same, which seems rather to close than divide its texture. When it is sufficiently done it is spread out to dry, the pieces being from four or five feet to six or more in length and half as broad. They are then given to another person who joins the pieces by smearing part of them over with the viscous juice of a Berry call'd 'Tooo,[a] which serves as a glue, till they become of a considerable size and are then laid over a large piece of wood with a kind of stamp made of a fibrous substance pretty closely interwoven under it. They then take a bit of cloth and dip it in a juice which stands close by in a cocoa nut shell, express'd from the bark of a tree with the outer rind scrap'd off call'd Kokka,[1] and rub it briskly upon the cloth, which at once leaves a dull brown colour and a gloss for glazing & dryness upon its surface, the stamp at the same time making a slight impression that answers no other purpose which I could see than perhaps to make the several pieces that are glued together stick a little more firmly. In this manner they proceed joining and staining by degrees till they produce a piece of such length and breadth as they want, generally leaving a border of a foot broad at the sides and longer at the ends unstaind. Through the whole, if any part of the original pieces are too thin or have holes, which is often the case, they glue spare bits upon them till it is of an equal thickness; and when they want to produce a black colour they mix the soot procur'd from an oily nut calld Dooe'dooe[2] with the juice of the Kokka in different quantitys as they want the tinge. They say that the black sort, which is commonly most glaz'd, makes a cold dress but the other a warm, and to obtain strength in both they are always carefull to join the small pieces length-ways which makes it impossible to tear the cloth in any direction but one.

As we wanted much to know if there was any good water about the bay our guides said they would conduct us to such a place and carried us to two different spots from whence the tide had fallen some way,

[a] This is the Cordia. [The Tahitian Tou is *Cordia subcordata*, but the Tongan tree of which the berries were used for this purpose was *Melochia aristata* or *M. odorata*. Cf. Cook, p. 172, n. 1 above.]

[1] Kokka, *Bischofia javanica*.

[2] Tuitui, *Aleurites moluccana*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Cups made of the Cocoa nut shells, wooden bowls of various sizes, different kind of Vessels made of Clay, Baskets of different Kinds, made of the rind of the Cocoa nut, Bundles of Cloth & fine Matts and their Arms, which consist of Clubs some of which are curiously carved, others plain, most of them made of wood, some few of Stone, Spears which are generally pointed with the Tail of the Sting ray, & 3 pronged Darts and Bows and Arrows which can answer very little purpose in War, their Arrows being too long & the Bows too weak; a Groove large enough to receive the arrow which is made of Cane runs along the inside of the Bow. They keep their arrows in long quivers made of large Hollow Bamboo.

The Places set apart for burying the dead are raised with Gravel about a foot or two above the level of the Ground, on which stand two or three Houses which are constantly shut up but contain nothing in them; these Cemetries called in their Language Dano[1] are kept very neat & clean & the Indians were generally displeased at our approaching them. Besides these there are others raised of Stones which are the burying places of the Chiefs & are called Fyntocka.[2] They have also spots set apart for burying their little fingers which they cut off & for their Children's navel strings, these are raised in the public highway & in size & appearance much like a Country Cock-pit, they call them Ejee.[3] Their Manufactures are of various kinds, that of the cloth is the principal, their manner of preparing it differs nothing material from that of the Otaheiteans, tho' it is painted afterwards quite different. They spread over it a kind of brown gummy Substance which gives the Cloth a glazed appearance which might be mistaken for Silk at a little distance; the brown Cloth is the most common & they have not many Varieties of Patterns, it has something of the substance & stiffness of Buckram & it is the general Clothing of both Sexes. Another considerable manufacture is that of Matting of which they have many different Sorts, some white others variegated with black & executed in a very neat & elegant manner, others strong & Coarse; the finest sort they use for Cloathing & to sit upon on extroardinary Occasions, the others are used for sails to their Canoes & to cover the floors of their Houses.

[1] *tano*. It is curious that nobody else from the voyage reports this word. *Tano*, a cemetery in general; *fa'itaka*, the circular burial places of the chiefs; *langi*, the rectangular, stone-built tombs of the Tu'i Tonga and Tamaha.

[2] sic; *fa'itaka*. Samwell's 'Fyn-' may be a slip for 'Fya-'.

[3] *ati*, 'rest mound'. But Samwell has certainly his information back to front. Some fingers and navel strings may have been buried on some rest mound, but the mounds were not made for that purpose. Some were buried in mounds of their own. 'The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.'—Gifford, *Tongan Society* (1929), p. 185.

'squatters' lived in a small house on the same land, and in some ways can be considered part of the household.

My original plan was to do a broad study of the arts and aesthetic taste in Tonga. I gave value tests based on sculpture, began to learn the language and some dances, and observed tapa making. But mainly I just participated in Tongan life.

On my second trip I stayed nearly one year and lived alone in a small, thatched Tongan house. However, for many purposes I was again part of a household. This was a commoner family consisting of a married couple plus their own and 'adopted' children. I usually spent two days each week in Lapaha, Mu'a, the village traditionally reknowned for its dancing. In Lapaha the family I stayed with consisted of a woman of a chiefly family; her husband, a man from a matāpule (ceremonial attendant) family; the woman's step-father, who was a commoner; and two young girls who did most of the work. This third family was Catholic, while the first two were Mormon and Wesleyan, respectively.

Building on my knowledge of Tonga gathered during the first trip, I decided to concentrate on two of their important cultural categories--dance and tapa making--and to explore the relation between these and the social order. It should be noted that the Tongans have no verbalised category that would correspond to the Western concept of the 'arts.' A few months after I arrived Queen Salote died, which placed both dance and tapa making under tapu. This tapu officially lasted six months, but in effect really lasted for a year. Although my

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

137 Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Tafahi: in coconut plantation on coastal plateau between Tafahi and Tafe, Dec. 13, 1951, *Hürlimann 510.*

Niuatoputapu: in bushy second-growth forest on volcanic ridge above Vaipoa, Dec. 5, 1951, *Hürlimann 363.*

Frequent throughout the group. From tropical Africa and southern Asia to Australia, the Philippines, and Polynesia.

For an informative discussion of this species, see Merrill in the Journal of the Arnold Arboretum (26: 85-92, 1945).

[287] [824] [381] Tongan name: *mahoa'a.* The tubers furnish starch used as an adhesive in the manufacture of tapa, or bark cloth.

Family Dioscoreaceae

Genus **Dioscorea** Plumier

Dioscorea alata Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 1033, 1753.

Herbaceous or somewhat woody, high-climbing vine with four-angled and winged stems, often bearing small, axillary tubers. Leaves opposite, ovate-cordate, attenuately acuminate, entire, up to 12 cm. or more long, palmately 9- to 11-nerved, petiole nearly as long as blade. Staminate flowers small, greenish, numerous in narrow, paniculate, axillary clusters, up to 30 cm. or more long.

Tongatapu: *Cook.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

[262] [824] Cultivated throughout Tonga for its edible tubers, which form an important part of the diet of the Tongan people. A large number of varieties are recognized by the Tongans. A native of the Old World tropics, now of pantropic distribution.

Tongan name: *'ufi.*

Dioscorea bulbifera Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 1033, 1753.

Herbaceous, glabrous, high-climbing, twining vine. Leaves alternate, oval-ovate to suborbicular, abruptly acuminate, base deeply and obtusely cordate, up to 20 cm. or more long, palmately 7 to 11 or more nerved, petioles commonly half to as long as blade, twisted at base, green or reddish aerial tubers up to 5 cm. or more in diameter often present in the axils. Flowers small, in long, slender, spikelike clusters in axillary fascicles.

Tongatapu: *Cook;* in thicket near Navutoka village, Feb. 27, 1953, *Yuncker 15088.*

'Eua: in thicket along trail near center of island, Mar. 20, 1953, *Yuncker 15383.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Tafahi: ridge of the Piu 'o Tafahi, Dec. 10, 1951, *Hürlimann 425.*

Niuatoputapu: along road between Vaipoa and Falehau, Jan. 2, 1953, *Hürlimann 650.*

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

The species of *Trema*, as represented in Tonga, are separated with difficulty, and it is possible that only one species occurs in the Fiji-Tongan area. In addition to the two given above, Hemsley reported *T. discolor* B. and H., based on a Tongatapu collection by Moseley. It is believed likely that this collection represents one of the two species given, probably *T. orientalis*.

137

Family Moraceae

Genus **Morus** Linnaeus

Morus alba Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 986, 1753.

Shrub or small tree, up to 5 or 6 m. tall. Leaves ovate, acute, base truncate or cordate, toothed and sometimes lobed, nearly glabrous, three-nerved from base, midrib branched upward, 10-12 cm. or more long and 7-8 cm. wide, petiole slender, 3-4 cm. long. Flowers small, in short, dense, headlike, axillary, pedunculate clusters; fruit up to 2 cm. long, fleshy, edible, purple when mature.

Tongatapu: in thicket between village of Fatai and sea, Mar. 10, 1953, *Yuncker 15255*.

Infrequent in Tonga. A native of tropical Asia, now widely distributed in temperate and warm countries.

Tongan name: *fuamelie*.

Genus **Broussonetia** L'Héritier

Broussonetia papyrifera (Linnaeus) Ventenat, Tabl. Regn. Veg. 3: 547, 1794.

Small tree or shrub, up to 8 m. tall, with densely hairy branches and milky latex. Leaves alternate, scabrous above, velvety beneath, ovate, sharply acuminate, base cordate, serrate, entire or often lobed, up to 18 cm. or more long and 15 cm. wide, petioles up to 6 cm. or more long. Flowers small, in axillary clusters; fruit club-shaped, pulpy.

Tongatapu: in old plantation near Lavengatonga Village, Mar. 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15179*.

'Eua: near Pangai village, Mar. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15471*.

Vava'u: *Crosby*.

Of ancient introduction, now more or less naturalized throughout Tonga. An eastern Asiatic species now widely introduced throughout the Pacific islands area.

Tongan name: *hiapo*.

The fibrous bark is used to make tapa, or bark cloth.

[287 824]

Genus **Artocarpus** Forster

Artocarpus altilis (Parkinson) Fosberg, Washington Acad. Sci., Jour. 31: 95, 1941.

Medium to large, round-topped tree, latex abundant, milky. Leaves alternate, up to 60 cm. or more long and 30 cm. wide, rather thick, deeply pinnately lobed, lobes acuminate

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

Fish nets (*finaki*). A fish net is made from the leaves of the coconut palm. The roots are plaited into a round net very much like a lobster net; when ready it is sunk in the sea, weighed down by a stone or some heavy weight. The fish swim into an opening in the net.

USES OF THE COCONUT PALM

The coconut tree is considered by the natives to be the most useful tree in Tonga. It is indispensable in house building, and the number of articles made from its wood and leaves is remarkable. The heart of the tree is used for making walking sticks, the bark for medicine, the roots for a kind of fish net called *finaki*, the leaves for baskets, thatching houses, and making mats and flooring. The uses of the fruit are innumerable.

As a medicine the fruit is given to pregnant women to increase the supply of breast milk. For this the green nuts are used. A newborn child is always given *namoa*, which is made from the roasted flesh of the ripe nut. This roasted flesh is chewed by someone, usually a woman, and when taken from the mouth is rolled in a piece of *fetoaki*, squeezed, and the juice given to the child. This is his only food for four days.

Ripe coconuts are valuable for copra, which is the dried flesh. This is sold to European markets largely, where it is used for soap, candles, oils, and a variety of products. The shells of the coconut are burned and made into charcoal (*malala*) for ironing. Kava cups also are made from the shells.

No native food is considered complete without the presence of coconut in one form or another. Yams, fish, and bananas are usually cooked in the milk extracted from the flesh of the ripe coconut and strained through coconut fiber.

Brooms are made from the ribs of the leaf, and the leaf stem is used for stirring oil, also as weights for tapa which is spread on the ground for printing. The bark (*kaka*), which surrounds the leaves at the body of the palm, is used to make bags for wrapping arrowroot and medicines.

The several varieties of coconut palms have different uses.

VARIETIES OF COCONUT PALMS

KAFA. The nut is gathered when green and husked, the husk put in a native oven and left for two weeks, after which it is taken out and beaten to remove all the dust. The fiber thus obtained is plaited into mats.

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

were throwing a stone. The end of the *fau* bark held in the hand is released and the arrow shoots off to a great distance.

A bow and arrow game, *gahau*, is played with a very slender, supple *kaho* stick. The bow is made from a stout orange stick.

For the boys' game of *maka ta*, an implement very much like the modern slingshot is used. The bark of tapa or *fau* is used for the sling and a small pebble for ammunition. The sling is swung around the head full force, and the pebble thereby released and shot out into the air.

A Tongan dance (*lakalaka*) may be performed by any number of people of both sexes. The leader (*bunake*), composes the dance, teaches it, and leads the dancers. He chooses leaders (*vahegas*) for both the men's and women's parts, who must be of chiefly rank, as no one considers the *lakalaka* worth watching unless the *vahega* belongs to the family of a chief. The words and music (*hiva usu*) for the *lakalaka* have been handed down from early times.

The *fahaiula* is a dance participated in by women only. The dancing is done to the sound of drums, with groups of girls sitting around singing and clapping hands to keep time for the dancers.

A game for small children (*aamoa*) is played by ten or more little girls and an old woman. The old woman covers herself with a piece of *gatu* or tapa cloth and tries to frighten the children, who run to escape her.

The game *fisi* is for both sexes. A rolled mat (*tapakau*) is placed on end with a stick on either side to support it; the children have small dried pieces of dried *fau* wood which they try to send over the top of the mat with one sharp clip of the finger.

CLOTHING OF WOMEN

The material used in most of the clothing worn by Tongan women in the early days was made from *feta'aki* (white tapa cloth before it had been dyed or printed). The leaves of certain trees were also used, coconut fiber serving as thread for sewing them together.

Funeral garments were made from leaves blackened by several days' exposure to the sun. These leaves were sewed together with a needle made from the small rib of the coconut leaf, the bark of the *fau* tree serving as thread.

A more modern method of dyeing the tapa cloth for funerals is as follows: The natives gather a great pile of candle nuts (*tutui*),

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

remove them from the shells and set them alight. The flesh of several coconuts is added to the fire and an empty kerosene can with the lid removed is hung over the flames. Black soot collects in the can, and is later scraped out and mixed with the scraped bark of the *koka* tree to make a jet-black dye. 287 386

The garments made for weddings were in two parts: the blouse or upper covering being of *fcta'aki*, and the loin cloth or lower robe of *gafigafi*. At both weddings and funerals a mat (*kie*) was made from *gafigafi* leaves which had been boiled and bleached in the sun. The *gafigafi* tree is now extinct in Tonga, and has been replaced by the *fa* tree. 292 585

For dances and native festivals, a dress was made by sewing together the leaves of the *kulutumu* tree and the *limu fonua*, the latter a kind of creeping moss. Both these plants are now rare in Tongatabu, but are found in abundance on the island of Eua. 292 294

NAMING THE CAPITAL OF TONGA

The capital of Tonga was known originally as Kolofoou, later changed to Nukualofa by the wish of King George Tubou I and his high chiefs. The name was probably taken from that of a rock which stands on the shore at Nukunuku, directly opposite the island of Feleave. The correct name of the rock is said to be Nuualofa, (The Land of Love). It is thought that Captain Cook used this idea in naming the whole group "The Friendly Islands," or "The Islands of Love" (Otu Aga Ofa). 103

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY

(A NATIVE ACCOUNT)

A man appointed to the rank of Muliki Haamea lived on a property at Mua, just by the property Tatakamotoga and Tugis property, Vatulova. As this chief Muliki Haamea was being escorted to Hihifo to be declared Tui Haamea, he was waylaid and murdered by the chiefs of the Hihifo district, on the beach road just opposite the village of Nukunuku, and his body was taken and left on the big rock called Nukualofa. His murderers then went to Hihifo and a man named Togalava heard of what had taken place; he was living at a village called Haateiho and he begged another young man to go with him to see if there was any truth in this story that he had just heard 173 425

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

671 It was forbidden for any women to remain indolent, and they were
[562] not to be assisted or fed since 'Our assisting the indolent is sup-
[461] porting that which is an evil'.[8] Sanctity of marriage was again an important feature of the
[581] 1850 Code in which Article VII declared marriage to be a covenant which could not be broken during the lifetime of either spouse.

797 The missionaries made no compromise regarding polygamy.
595 Giving up all but one wife was made one of the conditions of acceptance into membership of the Church. 'I told the people', wrote Thomas (Journal, 30 Mar. 1831), 'of many of their sins particularly of the sin of Polegemy. I exhorted them to put away their wives and keep one only and the Lord will then receive
671 them into his family'. This attitude is reflected in Article VII:
595 3 which made it unlawful for anyone to have more than one spouse.

535 Dancing was a popular entertainment among Tongans. It was
[832] mainly held at night time, and usually went on until the small hours of the morning. The excitement naturally whetted the sexual appetite, and couples would melt into the darkness. This was, of
535 course, horrifying to the eyes of the missionaries who, like all
797 Evangelicals, viewed dancing with disgust, as a great enticement
[796] to sin. Another reason for the missionaries' disapproval of dancing was the fact that it was often performed in association with the old religious ceremonies. Their views were expressed in Clause XI
671 which forbade dancing and heathen customs with a penalty of one
535 month's hard labour for the first offence and two months for further offences.

689 The puritanical views on modesty, which the Wesleyan mission-
797 aries held, made it imperative for adequate and proper clothing to be worn in public by the new converts. 'To dress otherwise,
291 leaving the body healthy and glad in the sunshine and fresh air

[8] Knowing the privileged position women occupied in Tongan society, Neill could not understand this seemingly extraordinary law. 'It is the husband', he wrote, 'who was, and still is, the working partner and breadwinner in the Tongan home' (Neill 1955:98). It may be pointed out, however, that women had the responsibility of making the *ngatu* (tapa cloth) mats and so on, which were needed in the home, and this was the work to which the clause referred.
[462]
[289]

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

than the way in which they noose sharks; instances of sharks attacking natives are very rare. Whales are sometimes caught. Turtles are also plentiful. Perhaps the most interesting creature in Tonga is a land-tortoise, now kept in the Palace grounds at Nuku'alofa, and reputed to have been left by Captain Cook; it has been scarred by bush-fires and other accidents, but in its old age it is honoured as though it were a chief and is called Tu'imalila, after a part of Labaha called Malila.

The graceful coconut-palm is the most distinctive as well as the most valuable of plants in Tonga. All parts of the islands being very close to the sea, coconut trees thrive everywhere, and copra, the dried kernel of the nut, is the staple product. Other plants which grow in profusion are many varieties of banana, plantain, yam, sweet potato, talo, manioc, sugar-cane, pineapple, breadfruit, papaw-apple, mango and arrowroot. Coffee, cocoa and cotton have been introduced but are not yet extensively grown. Various European vegetables have also been introduced, and corn has proved the best cereal for this climate.

Bananas, sweet potatoes, pineapples, tomatoes, pumpkins and oranges could be exported in abundance, if markets were available. The staple foodstuffs of the people are yam, sweet potato, talo, manioc, kabe, plantain, breadfruit, etc.

The bark of the paper-bark mulberry is extensively used for making native cloth (taba and gatu), and the sap of the koka tree is used for stamping this cloth. Mats are made from the leaves of the pandanus, but unfortunately this domestic manufacture is declining generally, except in Ha'abai. The trunks of the toa (ironwood) and koka are used for the posts of native buildings, but timber generally suitable for building European houses is not found in Tonga. The ironwood or casuarina tree was used for making clubs and spears formerly, and is still used for spade handles and mallets. The best of the old canoes were brought from Fiji, where more suitable timber for all purposes is available.

Kava, the juice of a species of pepper-plant, is the national drink on all occasions. Other interesting trees are the ovava, a species of banyan; gatae and tuitui (candle-nut) used for marking boundaries; Malayan apple or fekika, tava, and the ifi, whose leaves were hung round the neck in token of surrender or penitence in olden times.

Government statistics in 1931 show a total of 2,658,644 coconut trees and 832,655 banana plants in the Kingdom, 94% being owned by Tongan cultivators.

EXPORTS.

Tonga is entirely an agricultural country, being without minerals and secondary industries. It is unfortunate that there are still fairly considerable areas of undeveloped land even in such a small country, especially in Togatabu and 'Eua, and further that several hundred tax-payers have no allotments; this latter condition is mainly due to indolence on the part of some who live in the chief towns, but in the case of the overcrowded islands of Ha'abai it rises from rather a natural reluctance to leave an old home. The Government is now making strenuous efforts to enforce both more systematic cultivation of coconut-growing land and

244 month) varieties. In the past, most sweet potatoes were planted from February through October, although year round planting is now common. Depending on the variety, sweet potatoes take three months to one year to mature and can be harvested throughout the year, although they are most abundant from December through February. Planting material consists of cuttings from the leaves and stems, which are planted in the loosened earth mounds.

Manioc, cassava or tapioca - manioke (Manihot esculenta). Manioc, which is native to South America, possibly Brazil (Herklots, 1972: 446), was probably introduced into Tonga early in the nineteenth century shortly after the beginning of European settlement (Barrau, 1961: 53). Because it requires almost no care or weeding, produces high yields, and can grow in the poorest of soils, it has become the widely planted staple crop on Tongatapu. [287] A number of different varieties are recognized, although most Tongans make little distinction except between edible varieties and those used in the preparation of paste for the tapa making process. Manioc is planted year round, takes from 5 to 12 months to mature, is harvested throughout the year, and will remain edible for long periods of time in the ground, providing an emergency food source in times of shortage. Planting material consists of cuttings of the stalks, which are simply pushed into loosened earth.

245 Breadfruit - mei (Artocarpus altilis). The breadfruit

137 Teve (Amorphophallus campanulatus). This traditional
262 Pacific aroid, although supposedly eaten as a starch in the past, is rarely if ever eaten and is found only occasionally in a wild state on bush allotments.

241 Other miscellaneous food plants. There are a number of other, introduced food plants which are grown on an infrequent basis, primarily on town allotments, such as roselle - lasipeli (Hibiscus sabdariffa).

Important Non-food Plants

There are a considerable number of important non-food plants (not including large trees), which are also commonly found on bush and town allotments throughout Tongatapu; these include:

248 Paper mulberry - hiapo (Broussonetia papyrifera). Of
287 East Asiatic origin and ancient introduction into the Pacific (Yuncker, 1959: 97), paper mulberry is traditionally one of Tonga's most widely grown, non-food plants, its fibrous inner bark being used to make tapa cloth or ngatu.
248 It is grown on a large number of bush allotments throughout Tongatapu, either alone or intercropped with other subsistence crops. It takes about 12 to 18 months to mature, can be cut continuously for a number of years and is often found in bush fallow associations where it remains useful for the production of tapa cloth.

247 Screwpine (Pandanus spp.). Although commonly found growing naturally throughout Tongatapu, there are a number

247 of non-arborescent varieties, some of which were either aboriginal or post-European introductions from other island groups (Stone, 1970; 149). These are found in a cultivated state, usually in small patches or as borders around allotments or gardens, or naturalized amongst the secondary vegetation. The most common types of the shrub-like variety are tofua, tapahina, tutuila and loukie; other types which are more arborescent include paongo and a number of varieties of fa.

249 Polynesian arrowroot - mahoa'a or mahoa'a Tonga (Tacca leontopetaloides). Polynesian arrowroot, probably of Southeast Asian origin, appears to have been introduced very early into the Pacific Islands (Massal and Barrau, [28] 1956: 11). Although used to a greater extent in the past as a source of edible starch, it is now primarily cultivated for its tubers which are used in the preparation of paste for the tapa making process. It is found on many bush allotments intercropped with yams, giant taro or taro, as well as in a wild state amongst secondary vegetation.

Tobacco - tapaka Tonga (Nicotiana tabacum). A native of South America and probably of early post-European introduction (Baker 1970: 156-157; Parham, 1972: 329), tobacco is cultivated on a number of town and bush allotments. It is planted alone in small patches or intercropped with yams, plantains or other crops. A wild variety 137 Nicotiana fragrans, known as tapaka Tonga (Tongan tobacco),

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Turmeric - ango (Curcuma longa). Turmeric, supposedly of Indian origin and probably Pre-European introduction (Yuncker, 1959: 86) is cultivated and found growing naturally throughout Tongatapu. The rhizome is used in making a yellow dye (enga) and in the preparation of medicines.

[386]
[278]

Arrowroot - misimisi koka'anga (Maranta arundinacea). The common arrowroot, a native of tropical America and the West Indies, was probably an early European introduction (Herklots, 1972: 356). It is found only occasionally in a cultivated state on town allotments and is used as a substitute for Tacca leontopetaloides and Manihot esculenta in the preparation of paste for tapa making.

[287]

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Hyacinth bean - piini Tonga (Dolichos lablab). Native to the Old World Tropics and probably introduced (Stone 1970: 333; Parham, 1972: 112), the hyacinth bean is found occasionally on bush allotments planted on fallow land to restore soil fertility. The use of it in this capacity is encouraged by the Agricultural Department. In times of food shortage, the seeds are also eaten.

[262]

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Kava'aukava or kava Fisi (Derris elliptica). Native to Indomalaysia and possibly a recent introduction from Fiji, kava Fisi is occasionally found in both a planted and a natural state on bush and town allotments. The roots are used to stupify fish (Parham 1972: 111).

[226]

000 Tongan men and women. Wild or cultivated Pandanus leaves,
291 coconut fronds, and stems of wild plants such as Hibiscus
824 tiliaceus or Eleocharis dulcis are sources of fiber from
287 which the various types of ta'ovala are made. The tapa
248 cloth or ngatu is prepared from the inner bark of the paper mulberry plant (Broussonetia papyrifera), which is
291 planted as a crop in the bush gardens. Belts or twine used
824 to hold the garments in place are often made out of either coconut or Hibiscus fiber.

342 In the case of housing or shelter, the role of the
241 agricultural system is again of considerable importance as
342 a source of materials. Table 19 is an enumeration of
128 housetypes found as part of the survey of 192 allotments on Tongatapu. Although it is often difficult to distinguish a
342 "small wooden" house from a "large wooden" house, there is no doubt that almost half of the major dwelling units are
342 of the traditional thatched variety (fale Tonga). A fale is
824 constructed with plaited coconut fronds for walls and roofing; coconut and other local timber for poles, beams and framework; and coconut fiber and the inner bark of Hibiscus tiliaceus for lashing and tying the roofing down. In some cases, varieties of bamboo (Bambusa or Miscanthus) are used for walls. The leaves of a type of sugarcane, au, are used in the construction of a superior and long-lasting thatched roof. Even wooden houses are often constructed partially or entirely from local timber.

241 indicated membership in other planting organizations, most
476 of which required members to plant bananas, yams, and other crops on their own land, in accordance with a pre-determined quota. To insure that the crops are planted and well-maintained the members periodically inspected each member's allotment.

Another form of kautaha is the kautaha le'o vao; its main purpose is to patrol bush allotments to prevent theft of agricultural products, especially coconuts for making
[184] copra. These groups seem to be much more prevalent in the
[464] Ha'apai group and only four households of the Tongatapu sample of 138 households indicated membership, while 9 indicated that they paid kautaha to patrol their allotments.
[465] The payment is generally a small amount of cash or mature
241 coconuts. In most cases, the villagers on Tongatapu seem to be content to look after their crops themselves.

241 There are also many households who pay independent
464 kautaha ngaue to work on their allotments. These paid kautaha serve a similar function to the kautahe toungaue and are often hired when large amounts of labor are needed. Of 140 sample households, 33 percent had paid others to work on their land during 1971.

476 Women's communal work groups are also common and
● 287 include the koka'anga, the toulanganga, and the toulalanga. The koka'anga and the toulanganga both function in the preparation of tapa cloth. The koka'anga is performed when

476 one person has accumulated sufficient pounded paper mulberry
287 bark (feta'aki) to make a large piece of tapa (ngatu) (generally about fifty feet by twenty feet). An informal group of women averaging about 12 in number will meet and conduct the koka'anga to paste the individual pieces of feta'aki together, dye the tapa with vegetable dyes, and paint the desired patterns on the ngatu. Out of 24 households sampled, 75 percent participated in koka'anga during 1970-71 on an average 3 times per year.

The toulanganga is a group of women who each bring feta'aki to one member's house, make a ngatu and give it to that person. Each time, the toulanganga meets at a different member's house or at least makes the ngatu for a different member of the group. Out of 19 households, 53 percent participated in toulanganga on an average of 10 times per year, the average membership being 12 women.

476 The toulalanga is a similar group organized to weave
285 pandanus mats (fala) or coconuts mats(takapau). Out of 21 households, only 14 percent participated in toulalanga during 1970-71. Most women weave at home on their own, whereas others ask friends to help them on an informal basis to complete mats.

476 There are also a number of other informal working groups organized to build houses, collect vegetable dyes for tapa making, pound mulberry bark, dig wells, help at the village school, or perform other miscellaneous tasks. In

/24 cont./

181 461 climate seasonal changes only a minimal amount of work, in our sense, is required for an adequate livelihood. However, since the Tongan generally does not make his life quite as simple for himself as it might be, his average actual work activity being greater than environmental conditions and other factors require, we are obliged to [512] call him relatively hardworking. The Tongan family usually begins its work day at half past five or six o'clock (at times also at four or five o'clock), since the men like to take advantage of the cool early hours to work on the plantations. (32)

32. On the occasion of the week-long house construction on Nomuka (November/December 1951) the work lasted from daybreak until dark; however, the working natives took turns "recovering" during various long breaks.

Generally speaking /25/ the Tongan does not like to leave a piece of work that he has begun and that can be finished on the same day to be finished on the following day. On Nomuka, for example, some of the Tongans worked long after dark on the plantations making copra by a dim light because, once the coconuts had been gathered, they preferred not to leave them untreated until the next day. (33)

33. This was not demanded by the technical process of the work.

[287] In making tapa (koka-'anga) it is the ambition of the Tongan women to finish a job they have begun on the same day; even if they are quite weary after often ten hours of work, they do not lay aside the almost finished piece but force themselves to work an hour or two longer until they are finished. The Tongans' pleasure in their work can increase to a considerable expenditure of energy, even by European standards, if it is in their own particular interest. For example, on the 11th/12th December 1951 a group of 15 Tongan (three skilled workers, the rest untrained) built, from material that had been

/48 cont./

302 Tongan oil for dressing their hair.

Small girls sometimes wear a very short haircut like boys, so that they are often scarcely distinguishable from them; more often, however, their hair is left to grow long and is then cut so that it does not reach below the shoulders. The latter style is probably in contrast to ancient Tongan customs.

302 178 Summarizing, one may say that the modern hair style of Tongan men, and especially of Tongan women, shows an outright, joyful imitation of the new, along with a rather lighthearted renunciation of the old.

c) Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing and Circumcision

Clothing

291 [177] European textiles and articles of clothing have been, and still are, an important influence in Tonga.

291 554 (115) In former times, the men were either "almost entirely naked,"

115. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 326; V. p. 138.

that is, because of their inferior status or for their work they wore only a loincloth of tapa (116)

116. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280; the tapa was and is made of the bast layer on the inner side of the bark of Broussonetia papyrifera. For details see p. 216 ff.

[289]

or a leaf apron; (117)

117. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78; S. S Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands.../cited in English/. loc, cit. p. 144.

or, if they were privileged persons or were taking part in a festival, /49/ they wrapped themselves in a vala, that is, a rectangular piece of tapa slung about one and half times around the hips. (118)

/56 cont./

291 177 178 Thus the field of clothing shows how old indigenous cultural assets and new imported ones exist side by side and in part have been blended to a unity that seems natural to the natives. The Tongans adopted the European fabrics because they are far more practical (washable and more durable) than tapa, because, with their printed patterns and the brilliant colors some of which they had never seen before, they seem desirable, and because they are products of Europe which they admire. Convenience was a lesser consideration, for the money for purchase of the fabrics must be earned, keeping them clean requires assiduous care, and the tapa continues to be laboriously made--for festivities, as sleeping mats, etc.--to such an extent that in most villages of Tonga, and even in the "chief city" of Nuku'alofa one can still hear the pounding of the tapa mallet almost every workday.

[296] [432] [287]

/57/ It is doubtful whether in future the vala will be replaced altogether by trousers and the short dress. Though for certain work, trousers are much more practical than the vala, yet the latter is easier to make, to put on and to clean, and above all more comfortable in the warm climate. To judge by the present state of affairs, the majority of Tongans will probably retain the vala. Certainly it will continue to exist in the exalted realm of solemn occasions and festivities--provided the Tongan government does not officially introduce a different development in the wake of special European-ization measures.

Adornment

301 178 The adornment of the Tongans has also undergone a change. Today the natives adorn themselves relatively little compared to the wealth of adornment mentioned in the old sources about Tonga. In the pre-Euopean and early European era there were necklaces of snail shells,

[237] [824]

/95 cont./

476 [465] It may also happen that such a kautaha will hire themselves out for money to another villager by building him a house for a wage of, say, 30 pounds.

Such men's kautaha are found in most villages. Often they exist for a certain time only, for example a year, and the members then separate and look for other temporary or more permanent combinations. Much more significant in village life are the women's kautaha. Their sole purpose is to make, in a cooperative endeavor, long lengths of tapa and large mats for individual members who furnish the raw material (raw tapa or cleaned /96/ strips of pandanus leaves). For example, seven women will work five days a week (on Saturday they prepare for Sunday) and on each day will plait one mat, so that in the end five women will receive their portion of the work and the next week the other two will be supplied. Usually a capable older and more experienced man is "president" of such a kautaha; he is elected by the group for one year and may be reelected. In every Tongan village there is at least one such women's kautaha, and almost all villages have special kautaha houses for the aforementioned types of work. (270)

476 287 285 [461] 476 [368] [592]

270. A count in the 100 households of the village of 'Uiha (in April 1952) showed, for example, that at the time, in each of 59 households there was one female (wife, daughter, resident relative) who was a member of a women's kautaha, whereas in eight households there were two each, and in one household three females belonged to a kautaha. In 32 households no one was a member of a women's kautaha.

These kautaha are far more long-lasting than those of the men. Thus on Nomuka the four women's kautaha, the largest of which has 18, and the smallest six co-workers, were set up in the years 1922, 1942, 1945 and 1948. Based on the type of work-they accept only a specific number of members. If a member dies, usually her daughter or a relative

/96 cont./

476 takes her place (as the family decides).

476 It is difficult to say whether these kautaha are ancient
478 Tongan institutions. Since government officials usually recommend that the women, for example, make a certain number of mats within a given time, and the festive exhibitions of the kautaha have a certain official character through the presence of the "town officer" /cited in English/, the pastor and the kautaha president (all judges of the exhibited pieces), and since the election of the president strikes one as very European in character, we must assume that this form of the kautaha originated in the more recent period. On the other hand, it seems [285] improbably that formerly the very sociable Tongan women made the large [287] mats and tapa lengths by themselves in their family circle. Surely there were similar work teams in ancient Tonga, which in more recent times then took on the character of the present-day kautaha.

476 The festivals of the women's kautaha on an island like Nomuka
527 have an important place among the few festivities that are observed
574 in the present village community. It is a festive show of accomplishment which may proceed as follows:

The day before the festival a long roofing (of sticks and coconut palm fronds) is erected for the participants on a place in the village. On the morning of the festival several earth-ovens are prepared by the husbands of the various members, with the help of the women and their relatives. The festival (often called a "show" [533] /cited in English/) starts around noon. If there is a brass band in the village it strikes up /97/ and the invited guests of both sexes (that is to say, a large part of the village population) take their [431] seats in no particular order. The tapa pieces that have been brought along as gifts for the hosts are, for the time being, used as seat pads and are later (before the banquet) gathered up by the hosts. The show begins. The women of the kautaha (older as well as younger ones)

/160 cont./

244 machete (also with the huo spade or the huo lafa-lafa) about a foot above the ground and with this stub they pull the tubers (which are barely 50 centimeters long) out of the ground and dig farther for those they have not pulled out. The tubers must be used up soon, since [251] they keep for only two or three days.

The manioc planted in Tonga for food is not noticeably poisonous. The natives take no precautions. Only the manioc often used nowadays to [824] [287] glue bark cloth is poisonous and is carefully stored away from domestic animals.

talo = Taro (Colocasia esculenta Schott)

[262] Taro is one of the ancient cultivated plants of the Tongans (423).

423. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 237; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... I. p. 89.

but in the past, as today, it has never had great importance in the diet of the natives; the Tonga Islands are too arid for a extensive taro cultivation. Nevertheless, the natives take the trouble to plant a certain amount of taro. They distinguish between three main varieties.

[221] Planting time is from June to September (seldom to December), but particularly during the months of August and September. The native cut down and burn the weeds on the land where they propose to grow taro.

[462] Here too the subsequent "sweeping" of the residue is often done by the women, whereas all the rest of the work is the business of men. Sometimes they also plant taro after the yam harvest in the holes of the harvested tubers or together with the yams. They dig the planting holes for taro approximately 30 centimeters deep with the huo spade and place in them pieces approximately 12, 15 centimeters long) of the rhizome-like taro stalk. The planting holes are then covered with earth in such a way that a depression of some ten centimeters remains, so that in case of rainfall the water can gather in it. A simpler, more

/162 cont./

824 178 [372] [752] [524] (old); serves to deep fire smoldering (old); as fuel (old). "Towel" (old), "toilet paper" (old) and to clean shoes (new): the fibers are also used to press out the grated coconut meat (old); the juice of green, warmed husks and the crumbly material between the fibers of old husks are used to treat wounds (old); used for making children's toys (sailboats) (new?).

[352] [285] [372] 5. The palm leaves (lou niu): used, as is, to sit on in the bush (old); used to make floor mats (takatapu) (old), fans (old), baskets (old), hats (for example, helemeti and tata faka-polis) (new); needed to make house walls and roofing (old); used in dry form as fuel (old).

[285] [289] [412] 6. The center rib of the leaflets (tu'a niu): used in plaiting baskets (old) and fans (old) and in making tapa stencils (see p. 328); used in making brooms (old).

/163/

[482] [372] 7. The leaf stems (tome): used as carrying sticks (see p. 250) (old); in dry state as fuel (old); also used to keep fire going (smoldering leaf stem wound with tapa) (old).

[287] [415] 8. The bast fiber at the base of the leaf stem (kaka 'i niu): used to make tapa stencils (under side) (old) and as a bag for squeezing medicines and food (old).

[313] 9. The wood or the trunk (sino oe niu): used to make rafters and roof laths (old); used as posts and beams in houses (old?), as single posts on the plantations and for palisades (old).

[278] 10. The bark (kili oe niu): used to make medicines (for stomach pains) (old).

[227] [278] 11. The roots (aka oe niu): used to plait fish baskets (traps, finaki) (old) and to make cuttle fish hooks (tailpiece) (old); the juice of roots serves as medicine for abdominal pains and headaches (old).

it maybe designated as the most useful plant of the /163/ Tonga Islands.

245 Cook reports that he came across coconut palms on Tongatapu "in astonishing numbers." (427)

427. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 237.

292 /216 cont./
237 natural state, are today occasionally dyed with European dyes (for
177 example, crimson) for ornamental arrangements.
386

kie-kie lopa:

292 The kie-kie lopa is worn by women and girls (more seldom by men)
[535] as a ta'o-vala; they also like to wear it at dances (laka-laka,
[353] tau'olunga, kailao, hula, ula, ma'ulu'ulu) and often use it to decorate
their dwellings. This may be an ancient cultural heritage. It is
[462] made by women and girls and consists of a plaited cord of bast
[283] (Hibiscus tiliaceus) on which bast fibers are knotted; upon these they
[824] string red lopa seeds (Adenanthera pavonina?). Today the bast fibers
[386] of the kie-kie lopa are also sometimes dyed with European dyes.
[177]

Perhaps the principle of these ornamental belts is an ancient Tongan cultural heritage. With much love and zeal they are individually
[283] knotted today by women and girls. European dyes are an essential
[386] feature of all of them except mana fau.
[177]

The bast cloth (tapa) (567)

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[196]

567. Tapa is actually an incorrect designation, though long since established even for the dyed and figured bark cloth (more correctly: bast cloth); in the Tongan language only the non-dyed edge of the bast cloth is called tapa, whereas the dyed (figured) bast cloth is called ngatu.

is still made in the Tonga Archipelago on a large scale, even though the process is very tedious and in part /217/ entails hard work, and European textiles are relatively easily obtainable for the inhabitants of all the islands.

287 As clothing, however, tapa is used only on certain special
292 occasions; (568)
784

568. See p. 66 ff.

198 since the old belief in taboos has been lost, strips of bast cloth are

287 /217 cont./
292 also no longer used as a sign of taboo. (569)
[184] [198]

569. Still mentioned, for example, in Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 233.

[513] But at any rate the Tongans use tapa today, as in the past, largely as a sleeping pad (on the mats) and also especially as bed covers. At festive and solemn occasions, especially at a wedding and a burial, [752] bast cloth plays an important role, rooted in tradition. For dances the natives still like to wear tapa clothing; and finally, as in old times, strips of white bast cloth are used as bandages for wounds.
287 353 178 Apparently recent is the widespread use of tapa as a curtain inside the dwelling where it partitions off parts of rooms, replacing the movable interior walls (standing mats) formerly used for this purpose.

Today, in Tonga, tapa is made in the following way:

248 The paper mulberry tree (Broussonetia papyrifera) is planted specifically for making bast cloth. Men (sometimes also women) plant saplings on land that has been cleared of weeds (also in an old harvested yam field). While it is growing, the women remove the weeds that shoot up and break off the sprouting twigs from the saplings, so that the latter will grow quite tall. When the little paper mulberry trees (hiapo) have become tall enough, that is, after one or two years, the women (sometimes also the men) cut the small trunks with a machete or an axe.

287 They take the small trunks to the village and keep them in the house for three to six days so that the bark loses its stickiness. Then, with their teeth, the women notch the layer of bark at the lower end of the little tree about five centimeters lengthwise, and, with their hands, vigorously pull off the entire layer around the trunk in a single strip. On the inner side of this layer of bark is the bast needed for tapa-making. This they remove from the bark by separating it from the lower end with a machete (or a kitchen knife) and pulling

/217 cont./

287 it off in one strip with their hands.

The pulled-off layer of bast (lou tutu), briefly rolled and stretched so that it lies flat, is exposed to the sun until it is dry. Thereupon it is again rolled up and stored thus.

When a woman has enough of this raw material and wishes to beat the bast cloth, she places the rolls of bast strips, the night before she plans to work, into a tub of water for about ten hours. Then, on a slightly curved, smooth (peeled) section of trunk (tutua) (usually of puopua-wood - Guettarda speciosa L.) approximately 15 to 20 centimeters in diameter and 2 to 3 meters long) /218/, which is cushioned by sticks places underneath ('akau langa langa), she beats the moist bast strips with a four-sided wooden mallet (ike). (This mallet the men carve out of toa-wood [Casuarina equisetifolia L.] with a knife; it is about 30 centimeters long; the sides, three of which have grooves of different widths [to stretch the bast strip] and one of which is smooth [to smoothe out the beaten bast] are about seven centimeters wide.) The bast strips are of various sizes corresponding to the size of the trunk; you see some that are one meter long and plus-or-minus five centimeters wide (in the extreme) others, that are 4.5 meters long and 8 centimeters (at one end) to 3 centimeters (other end) wide. As a result of beating (fai tutu) (some 30 to 40 minutes), the strips become larger (for example, stretched to a width of 60 to 80 centimeters). (570)

412 824

570. The women also like to pound two pieces of bast, one on top of the other, in order to make better and stronger tapa.

These (rather thin) pieces of bast ("raw tapa," feta'aki) are dried and stored, so that from a greater number of them large lengths of tapa can be pieced together.

/218 cont./

287 386 412 824 Before that, however, the dye must be obtained to dye the tapa lengths. This the women also take care of. From a wild koka-tree (Bischofia javanica [flower]) growing on plantation land, and with a scraper (me'a vau koka) made for his purpose and consisting of a metal band in the shape of a loop fastened to a wooden handle or simply a

Koka-scraper (me'a vau koka)
(Expedition Collection, No. 175)

metal band bent into shape, they first scrape off the outer grayish-brown bark layer, and then scrape a quantity of shavings from the reddish bark layer, which they take to the village in coconut-leaf baskets. (The koka-trees survive this procedure, and the same trees 287 are used again and again.) The bark shavings are soaked in water and 386 then laid upon the open, outspread pressing tube (fau tau koka) plaited out of hibiscus bast) which is thereupon tied up and wound with hibiscus bast. This large, sausage-shaped object is tied together at the ends and hung from a strong tree branch. Through the ring that is formed by the pressing-tube they insert a heavy stick and turn it so that the brown koka-color runs into a vessel placed in readiness. In order to squeeze out the "last drop" two or four women (girls) sit on the two ends of the stick.

287 386 461 476 Whereas the beating of the bast lengths is performed by women who work separately or in twos or threes (side by side), and even the koka -pressing is done only by a few women (girls) working together, the making and dyeing (koka'anga) of the large strips is

/218 cont./

287 386 [461] [476] generally handled by a group of 10 to 16 women (girls). (571)

571. This is a work team (kautaha) (see pp. 137-140) that carries out the process under the supervision of an older woman; a woman seldom does this work by herself.

[368] They do this work in special houses (572)

572. fale kautaha = house of kautaha (see pp. 134-136, 137-140).

on a structure built of boards, some four to six meters long, that has the shape of a cylinder cut in half lengthwise and resting on its open side. This "drum" the women first wrap with coconut fiber cords, then lay over them "raw tapa" pieces (feta'aki) and on top of these they place the printing panels (kupesi); the latter are larger or smaller /219/ panels made of pandanus leaves of the paongo species and kaka 'i niu (that is, the natural tissue at the base of the leaf stem of the coconut palm) sewed together with hibiscus bast threads, on which various decorations made from the center rib (tu'a niu) of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm are fastened with coconut fibers (from the husk of the nut) and with single hibiscus bast threads. On top of these printing panels, to protect them, the women again place "raw tapa" pieces (feta'aki) as "pulusi" (covering tapa) which they press firmly against the relief-like patterns and rub with dye-soaked (koka-dye) scraps of tapa (tata). Then the glueing and dyeing (koka'anga) of the large tapa lengths can commence. On the prepared bottom [381] surface they place a first layer (laulalo) consisting of several feta'aki, (573)

573. The small holes which may result from beating the tapa are first glued with patches of the same material.

press it firmly with the dye-soaked scrap (tata), smear its surface with parboiled (poisonous) manioc roots (as glue) (tou) and place on

/219 cont./

287 this a second layer of tapa (lauolunga) (consisting of feta'aki), (574)
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[381]

574. The individual feta'aki are properly trimmed as they are laid in place.

which is pressed on (glued) and rubbed with the color-scrap soaked with koka dye, so that on the now brownish surface the darker brown patterns of the printing panels stand out in contrast. With paintbrushes (fo'i fa) (pandanus fruit) the women draw over the individual patterns. When they have finished painting the length of the tapa (575)

[412]

575. They straighten the edge of it with a knife or with scissors.

on the "drum," they pull it down far enough so that on its longitudinal edge more feta'aki pieces can be glued, layered, dyed and painted, whereupon the process is repeated again and again, so that on one side of the drum a longer and longer length of two-ply, dyed and painted tapa builds up. On both edges, which remain uncolored, the women always paint the number of the segment in arabic numerals; one segment is always two hand-spans wide. A finished tapa length is about 20 to 27 meters long and 3.70 to 4.40 meters wide. For special purposes (for example, as a gift to the sovereign) they make tapas that are more than 100 meters long.

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The glued and dyed tapa lengths are spread out with the colored side uppermost to dry in the sun. The women also lay them in the grass in front of their dwellings before sunrise, so that the dew (and thereafter the sun) can make the bast cloth "strong and beautiful."

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The final operation is the redrawing of the decorations on the printing panels. This the owner (576)

[422]
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576. The owner of such a long tapa is always the woman who furnished the necessary raw tapa (feta'aki); the kautaha works for each of its members in turn (see pp. 137-140).

/219 cont./

287 usually does herself with a wooden rod and blackish-brown color (a
[386] [53] mixture of koka-color and the soot of burned Aleurites).

The tapa lengths are folded and rolled into balls and kept in the dwelling of the owner who, in the course of time, cuts off pieces as needed.

287 There are three types of tapa, according to the methods of dyeing:
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[386]

1. ngatu tahina:

This most important, because universally used, tapa is dyed a solid brown with the exception of the border and certain parts of the decoration. The patterns are brought out with dark brown or blackish-
[212] brown lines. They represent, for example, the /220/ adornment of chieftains, striking or historically noteworthy landscape motifs, symbols of the modern Tongan state (star, crown, dove, swords), parts of ancient Tongan chieftains' houses, as well as the new palace of the king and desirable European objects such as the bicycle and gramaphone, and some also have inscriptions (block letters) which explain the meaning of individual decorations (for example, KOE SISI O TAUFAAHAU = this is the ornamental belt (sisi) of the Taufa'ahua; KOE KALAUNI = this is the crown; KOE PASIKALA = this is a bicycle; KALAMIFONI = gramaphone).

287 The ngatu tahina is used as a bed cover (also bed pad) for men
[513] women and children, to partition rooms and as ceiling covers in the
[353] house, as wedding clothes, to lay a corpse to rest, as a gift, and
[342] as a dance dress; in each case sufficiently large pieces are cut
[292] from the roll.
[764]
[431]

2. ngatu tapa'i ngatu:

287 Tapa of this kind has patterns outlined in dark brown (blackish-
531 brown) on a surface that has been left more or less white. Their
[212] patterns are also symbols of ancient and modern Tonga (for example,

/220 cont./

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a certain flower ornament

Pattern on a ngato tapa 'i ngatu: a spitfire fighter plane (Expedition Collection, No. 27)

of a chief, parts of ancient Tongan buildings and houses of chiefs, striking landscapes, the queen's fan, the flag of Tonga, a spitfire fighter plane that the Tongans gave England in the second World War, and a nautical mark in the harbor of Neiafu), and some of them are explained by block-letter inscriptions.

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Bast cloth of this kind is used especially as bed covers, to divide up and decorate rooms in the dwelling as well as to cover the ceiling of these, and as gifts; it is also used occasionally as a wedding and a dance dress and to cover a corpse.

3. ngatu 'uli:

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This type of tapa is dark brown to blackish-brown (brown koka color and blackish koka and Aleurites soot). It is decorated with print panels (chiefly with the "manulua" pattern, namely, cruciform triangular patterns), or /221/ else patterns are dispensed with and the lines of the coconut fiber cords that were previously wrapped around the "drum" stand out as the pattern on the entire blackish surface.

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This tapa is used chiefly as bed pad (on the top mat), as a wedding gift and as a cover on which to lay a corpse.

/221 cont./

287 wedding gift and as a cover on which to lay a corpse.

287 178 177 386 531 The customary method of producing tapa today corresponds largely to that observed by Cook (577)

577. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 203/204.

in the second half of the 18th century and by Mariner (578)

578. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 288-293.

at the beginning of the 19th century. On the whole, and in numerous details, the work procedure has remained the same, though various changes are to be noted. Thus, European knives (and axes) replaced the shells formerly used to cut the paper mulberry trees; the outer bark is no longer scraped off the bast layer with shells; rather, bast and bark are today more quickly separated with knife and hand; manioc roots are now used as glue (in the koko'anga process) instead of the "toe" berries and maho'a (arrow root, Tacca pinnatifida Forst. f.) the koka scrapers are, of course, a modern device, just as the wooden half-cylinders with boards and nails used in dyeing have been "modernized"; the printed panels show symbols and objects from present-day Tonga and lettered inscriptions, along with the traditional patterns; moreover, the tapa lengths may today be wider and shorter if Mariner's account ("about six feet in breadth, and generally about forty or fifty yards in length" /cited in English/) is correct; the painting on of the segment numbers in Arabic numerals is, of course, the result of European influences; a certain simplification of the work process means the abolishment of the "baking below ground" (earth oven?) which, according to Mariner, was formerly customary and apparently made the color more permanent; finally, it may be mentioned that the re-drawing of the decorations is today more thorough and is not done with hea juice, but with a mixture of koka color and Aleurites soot.

/221 cont./

287 178 177 Yet these changes, which are partly the result of direct European influences and partly an independent development, seem trivial in view of the fact that the very complicated process of tapa-making has otherwise been preserved to the greatest extent, for Mariner's detailed and accurate account of it could--with the foregoing modifications--have been written in the year 1952 instead of 1816. However, it cannot be foreseen whether, with the isolated technical changes occurring today, which aim to simplify /222/ the process, the way is being paved for a deterioration of this ancient craft, as has long since occurred on almost all the other islands of Polynesia. These changes include: the use of imported wheat flour as paste, the employment of simple paper patterns to be painted, and the application of free-hand designs (based on printed-panel models). (579)

579. In Fungamisi/Vava'u the natives use for their koka'anga work, for example, a net knotted out of European yarn instead of printing panels and coconut twine.

Manifestations such as these are not yet common by any means; they are seen here and there, especially in and around the harbor towns.
A noteworthy change in the field of tapa production, which, however, did not affect the technical side, occurred as a result of the gradual democratization of the Tonga state: The printed panels are no longer (565) exclusively made by women of higher rank, (580)

580. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 292.

but are in general made by commoners who thus carry out the entire work process and who, in contrast to past times, keep all the products of their activity, save for occasional voluntary gifts to nobles.
The majority of Tongans, therefore, in view of the quantities of tapa produced in the Archipelago, probably do not own less bast cloth (565) than they did in the past. Whether this drifting-away of tapa

/222 cont./

287 production from the supervision of nobles coarsened the results is
178 difficult to say. The old tapa pieces in the Göttingen Institute
177 of Ethnology, (581)
[565]

581. That is, Numbers Oz. 575, 578-580; all from the Cook-Forster Collection.

for example, scarcely surpass the products of the present, and though the patterns customary today may seem in part clumsy, yet they show a certain skill and assurance in the decoration of large areas.

287 The Christianization of the Archipelago has influenced tapa-
527 making insofar as this work, like every other, is laid aside on
177 Sundays and is scarcely done even on Saturdays. (582)

582. On account of preparations for Sunday.

287 The Tongan women also try to finish all planned koka'anga work (that
461 is, the pasting and coloring of the large pieces) before the Christmas season; in the new year they gradually start beating feta'aki (raw tapa), and it often takes months before the first koka'anga again takes place.

285 In summary we may say about the plait- and knotwork as well as
283 tapa-making of the Tongans that in their use of materials and in their
287 technique they have, to a large extent, preserved their heritage from
177 the past. True, some of it has been lost, new things have arisen.
178 European expedients have gained entrance, and the products of today seem /223/ in part cruder in comparison with ancient Tongan work. Yet one can scarcely spead of an actual deterioration.

In addition to employment of materials and technique, it may be interesting to note the distribution of these products among the Tongan people in the past and at present. In this connection we
[565] discover that today a certain quantity of such pieces are to be found in every Tongan household, and that, as a result of the "liberation" of commoners and the attendant "debasing" of types once reserved for

/223 cont./

285 nobles to the realm of the common people, most of the traditional
287 plaitwork, knotwork and tapa-making is scarcely less numerous than
178 it was in the past.
177

[565] During the last few decades there seems to have been danger, especially in and around the harbor towns, that these ancient crafts
285 might be lost. For this reason a course in "Tongan handicrafts"
287 /cited in English/ was introduced in all Tongan schools of the
178 Archipelago, in order to teach children the important ancient Tongan
891 crafts. Many a girl from Nuku'alofa, for example, whose mother was already inexperienced in the old handicrafts, has in this way been made familiar with them, and even in the harbor towns one now constantly hears the sound of the tapa mallets, though even here it was never completely silenced. For here, and especially on the small
[868] islands, the ancient Tongan crafts have been handed down to this day from mothers and grandmothers to their children and grandchildren.
285 The "liberation" of commoners also brought about no essential decrease
287 in industriousness after they were no longer obliged to work for the
178 nobles; the authority of the latter passed over to the government,
565 though in milder form, and the Tongan district and town officers
656 /cited in English/ serving in the individual villages--who are subject to a higher authority--see to it that the Tongan women living within their jurisdiction produce certain quantities of tapa and mats--for their own use--during prescribed periods. The majority of women and
[556] girls willingly carry out these orders, though there is no law that forces them to do so, for mats and tapa are still a standard of prosperity; no one wants to be regarded as "poor," and women will therefore work for their good reputation.

285 The question as to why the ancient Tongan treasures are still
287 held in such high regard can scarcely be answered simply by pointing
178

/223 cont./

285 out that the Tongan women can obtain the necessary raw material from
287 their own land, and that they are simply continuing a centuries-old
178 tradition that has long been taken for granted. The chapters on clothing and house-building alone show that this answer does not
285 suffice. No intensive European influences affected the area of
287 plaiting, knotting and tapa work, as they did the area of clothing
178 (missionization). Yet the various examples set by whites and the
177 possibilities of obtaining new goods and materials, as in the case of house-building, could alone have caused a rather great change. /224/ The fact that this did not occur must doubtless be explained by the inertia of the Tongans, by their sometimes quite definite conservative attitude. (583)

(386)

583. Interesting in this connection is the fact that the natives can easily obtain European dyes and that they like to use them (for example, for certain types of mats and for ornamental belts), yet they strictly avoid these otherwise so popular garish colors in making their traditional pandanus-leaf baskets and in dyeing their tapa lengths.

462

E. Division of Labor and Daily Routine

The division of labor according to sex among the Tongan population living in the villages is based on the principle that the men generally do the heavy work while the lighter tasks are left to the women.

A list of the chief tasks may show this:

MEN	WOMEN
Plantation work	Food preparation and cooking
Harvest transport	Tending children
Copra-making	Taking care of house
Fishing	Washing clothes and sewing
Preparation of earth-oven	Mat-making, along with plaitwork (and knot work)
Keeping domestic animals	Tapa-making
Grass-cutting (village property)	

/320 cont./

G 248 177 While in the South Seas Kingdom the old planting cycle was preserved, it experienced considerable change in Buganda through widespread cotton planting as a result of European influence. This means T 245 177 a saleable crop for the Muganda, similar to the Tongan copra production. While the latter, however, does not demand systematic planting and was relatively easily incorporated into the old economic system, the Baganda have been forced, through their cotton raising to give up their six-month cycle of sowing and harvesting, and their general cultivation activity is now dependent on the nine-month growth of cotton.--Cotton harvests for them--like copra harvests for the Tongans--are the most important means of satisfying their modern material wishes and fulfilling their obligations toward the government and the large landowners.

G 262 177 The food of these natives has apparently changed less than that of the Tongans, for here imported European foods have not gained that much G [272] importance as supplements. The only general innovation connected with diet seems to be tea-drinking. Peoples here too eat mostly with G 264 their fingers.

G 287 177 439 I [287] Bark-cloth production, which was also once generally carried on, (50)

50. In this case, however, it is a coarser type of bark cloth (made of a ficus species) and is men's work.

G [462] has here, in contrast to the development in Tonga, very much dropped G 285 462 off as a result of the import of cotton fabrics. Mats and baskets are, however, made by the women to a rather large extent.

G 462 177 I [462] [177] Division of labor according to sex in this African country remained basically unchanged--as in Tonga--during the period of European influence. Thus the woman is still responsible for food planting. But the man who, as a result of the general development of the country, has been relieved of some of his duties (for example,

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100: Koch--516 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

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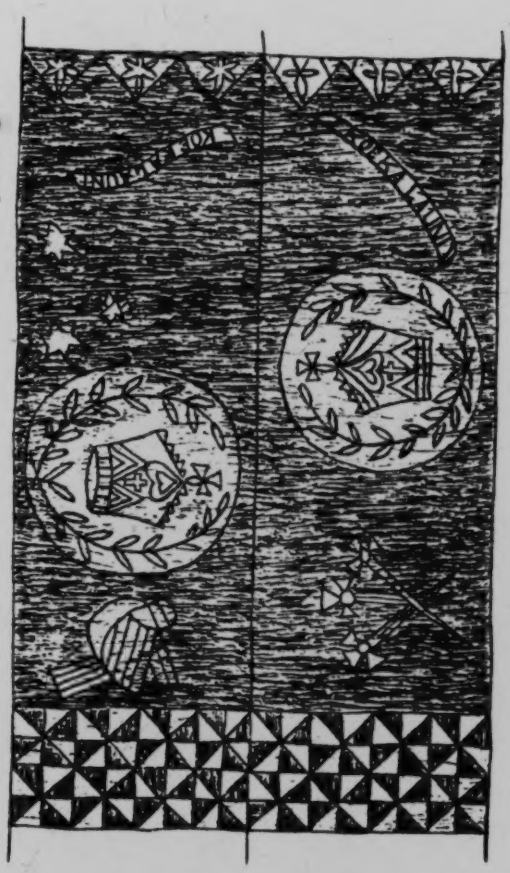
17. Pounding bast strip to make tapa

[End Plate 9]

100: Koch--518 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 0U9 Tonga 0U9

287
531
532



20. Design on bast cloth "ngatu tahina": symbols of the modern Tongan state

[End Plate II]

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

place to see something of the usual occupations of the natives at their homes. One of the things, that strikes a visitor most upon his arrival at Tongatabu, is the incessant hammering which commences at daybreak, and continues without intermission until about noon. To satisfy ourselves as to the cause of this, we entered the first house in which we heard the noise, and found two women engaged in making tappa, or native cloth. They were seated on the ground, one on each side of a log about 6 feet long and 6 inches square, which was raised just clear of the floor by means of short bits of stick placed under the ends of it. Each woman had a piece of the bark, of which the tappa is made, laid before her on the log, and was beating it with a wooden mallet about a foot in length, the handle being rounded, and the striking end square, with grooves in the sides. They wetted the bark from time to time, sprinkling water upon it from a large wooden bowl that stood upon the ground beside them.

In another hut a woman was shaving the head of a young child with a bit of glass broken from the neck of a bottle, dipping her finger into a cocoanut-shell of water and wetting the place as she went on; the little brown head became perfectly smooth and shining under the operation, which was so skilfully performed as not to disturb the child as it lay fast asleep on her arm. They call this operation fa-fai-ulu; literally, shave the head: shaving the chin being called te-lee kava, razor the beard.

In the next hut two men were busily employed in rigging the model of a canoe, to sell or barter on board the ship; they were very intent upon their work, leading all the ropes correctly, and finishing every part with great care.

In one house we found a native artist, a woman who made designs for patterns on tappa. She was at work, and had several lying by her which she had just finished. In a corner of the hut lay a pile of enormous yams, some of them being upwards of 4 feet in length. This store, together with other provisions, had been collected by the husband against the confinement of his wife, which appeared likely to take place very soon. The man sat watching her, and nursing a fine boy, and seemed quite proud of the attention with which we regarded his wife's performance.

In the course of our exploring excursion we called upon the principal man of the place, who had presided at the school examination in the morning. He was sitting alone in one corner of the matted floor of his house, and welcomed us as we entered, desiring us to be seated beside him. The house was in no way superior to the generality in the place, except in being a little larger and having the court-yard round it more carefully kept; the only piece of furniture in it was a large kava bowl, which hung up in the apartment. In a corner of the court-yard lay,